

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

of the Protestant Episcopal Church

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The Anglican Communion News

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Wide Episcopal Church"

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IN THE AGE OF THE STUARTS

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EDITORIAL

Pan-Anglican: A Review of the World-Wide Episcopal Church



THE above is the name of the new journal which has recently appeared—Vol. 1, No. 1, Lent, 1950—and most timely it is. The Foreword states:

"The 1948 Lambeth Conference resulted in bringing together more closely perhaps than ever before the Churches forming the Anglican Communion. Frequently at Lambeth the desire was expressed to maintain and foster the personal and official associations there begun, as well as to have disseminated regularly throughout the Anglican Communion information regarding the Church in the many lands represented.

"This magazine is being published to carry out these purposes. It is a 'labor of love' on the part of the Editorial Staff, as no one thereon will receive financial compensation."

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE feels some pride in the fact that the Rt. Rev. Walter H. Gray, D. D., bishop coadjutor of Connecticut, is the editor of *Pan-Anglican*, and we suspect that his statesmanship is the motivating force behind it. Bishop Gray is a member of the Joint Commission of the General Convention which publishes HISTORICAL MAGAZINE. The Rev. Dr. Edward R. Hardy, Jr., one of our associate editors, is an assistant editor of *Pan-Anglican*. The Ven Smythe H. Lindsay, archdeacon of Dallas, and a man of wide experience in the publication of periodicals, is the managing editor; and the Rev. Dr. Elmer J. Cook, of Berkeley Divinity School, is an assistant editor.

Pan-Anglican is published twice a year by the Church Missions Publishing Company, 207 Farmington Avenue, Hartford 5, Connecticut, U. S. A., which has a long record of publishing in the interest of missions. The title was selected "because it explains the scope of our interest and does not, so far as we are aware, conflict with any publication now extant. *Pan-Anglican* is a familiar term, being used at the first fully-representative gathering of the Anglican Communion, the 'Pan-Anglican Congress' of 1908."

The Foreword also states:

"Initially, at least, there will be no regular subscription price, but contributions will be gratefully accepted. . . . In the

future it will usually be sent *only upon request* made to the Editor . . . " at the above address.

The cover carries a fine full-length picture of the archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Geoffrey Francis Fisher, and the first article, "The Mission of the Anglican Communion," is his contribution. If there be any ecclesiastical isolationists among us, let them take heed to what he says in his conclusion:

"Events compel us today in every field of man's activities to have a 'world-outlook'—and not least in the work of the Christian Church. The mission of the Church is to the world; and in all parts of the world the Anglican Church takes its share in this mission. We must know not only our own local church, but something at least of our brethren elsewhere: we must be concerned that the stronger may help the weaker, that those with inherited resources may help those who are young in experience, that the family bonds may be close. It is all the time a multilateral traffic. If older churches can contribute from their experience and stability, the younger bring to us all the challenge of great adventures of the Spirit against immense difficulties. We cannot afford to be unaware of each other.

"The Lambeth Conference is a great unifying influence, but it comes rarely and at an episcopal level. The proposed Congress between Lambeth Conferences will be also a great unifying influence and at a more popular level, but that too will be an occasional event. The newly formed Advisory Council on Missionary Strategy will serve an essential function for the whole Communion, by providing for continuous surveys of problems and plans. But we need also constant interchange between the Churches and along with it a continuous growth of mutual knowledge and understanding. It is to help towards this that this magazine is being started, and I wish it Godspeed."

Eight articles, pages 7-49, are devoted to the Canadian Church. All are illuminating, especially "The Genius of the Canadian Church," by the Rev. R. F. Palmer, D. D., S. S. J. E.

Following three short but excellent editorials, the rest of the 68 pages of this first issue is devoted to notes and reports from other Churches of the Anglican Communion.

Pan-Anglican, judging by this first issue, gives great promise of being the organ long needed by the world-wide Anglican Communion. HISTORICAL MAGAZINE joins with Archbishop Fisher in wishing it God-speed.

WALTER H. STOWE.

LORD FALKLAND (1610-1643) LIBERAL LAYMAN IN THE AGE OF THE STUARTS

*By James Thayer Addison**

IF we may judge from the number and variety of his admirers, Lucius Cary, Viscount Falkland, was one of the most charming men in seventeenth century England—a Puritan in his moral standards, but an Elizabethan in his eager versatility. Viewing him as an agreeable contrast to Laud, and as a type of liberal layman rare in times of strife, we shall find his character today as sound and as attractive as did his friends in the reign of Charles. And we need have no hesitation in associating him with men like Hooker and Taylor, for in the words of a modern biographer,

"Theology was the absorbing interest of Falkland's ripening manhood. . . . But theological speculation was with him only the intellectual reflex of deep religious earnestness and a lofty moral purpose."¹

Descended from an old Devonshire family of high standing, his father, Henry Cary, was born in Hertfordshire about 1580. When he was twenty-two, he married Elizabeth Tanfield, daughter of Lawrence Tanfield, a wealthy lawyer who was later to be chief baron of the Exchequer. A fabulously precocious child, she was then seventeen years old, already learned in French, Spanish, Italian, and Latin, and even trained in theology. As she had too much intellect and too little beauty to attract him, Cary was marrying her for her money; and having done so, he seems not to have lived with her for another four years, during part of which he was serving in the wars in Holland. After eight years of marriage, their second child and first son, Lucius, was born in 1610, probably at Burford in Oxfordshire. Burford and the adjacent Great Tew were the ample estates of his maternal grandfather, and it was with the Tanfield family that Lucius spent his childhood.

*Dr. Addison has served as professor of the History of Religion and Missions in the Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1919-1940, and as vice-president of the National Council of the Episcopal Church, with supervision of its overseas missionary work, from 1940 until his retirement in 1947.
—Editor's note.

¹J. A. R. Marriott, *Lucius Cary, Viscount Falkland* (1907), p. 98.

In 1620, Sir Henry Cary was created the first Viscount Falkland, and two years later was appointed lord deputy in Ireland. When he moved to Dublin with his wife and children, Lucius was a boy of twelve, ready to begin his studies at Trinity College. The new foundation of Trinity, then less than thirty years old, was strongly Calvinistic in its religious tone and more openly inclined to Puritanism than the universities of England. To this influence rather than to family training we may trace the strong element of Calvinism in Cary's thought, for religion meant little to his father, and his mother had become a Roman Catholic before he was sixteen. But it was not for religious education that he had been sent to college; his chief studies were Latin and logic; and the first reward was the degree of Bachelor of Arts by the time he was fifteen years old. For another three years, however, he must have continued to work with his tutors at Trinity, since before he returned to England in 1628 he had mastered Latin so completely as to have read all the best poets and historians of Rome. More remarkable for that age was the fact (attested by his best friend) that he had learned to speak and write French with fluency.

The year 1629 witnessed rapid changes and several crises in the Falkland family. The viscount was recalled from Ireland after seven years of unsuccessful administration. To say that he had not distinguished himself is to lay upon him little blame, for he had wrestled with opponents whom no one less than the great Wentworth could master, and he had had no support from the government at home. Several years earlier, he had separated from his wife in disgust at her perversion to Rome, and she was living in poverty in London. While she was never to know peace and comfort again, she could point before her death to a personal religious triumph, since her four daughters all became nuns and her two youngest boys entered the priesthood. Only Lucius and his nearest brother remained stoutly Protestant. In this same year, meanwhile, Lucius, at the death of Lady Tanfield, had fallen heir to his grandfather's estates, with the two houses of Burford and Great Tew and an income of more than £2,000 a year. While his father was falling deeper in debt every month, he was now the only prosperous member of the family.

Lord Falkland, though no longer in the royal service, was fortunately not without influence at the court of King Charles, for in January, 1630, he was able to intercede for his hitherto blameless son. Having a hot temper like his father's, Lucius had taken offense at what he called an insult and had challenged a supposed enemy to a duel. Instead of enjoying vindication on the field of honor, he was arrested and imprisoned in the Fleet. On his behalf the viscount wrote to the king as follows:

"The Lord Falkland's Petition to the King.

Most humbly showing that I had a son, until I lost him in your Highness's displeasure, where I cannot seek him, because I have not will to find him there. Men say there is a wild young man now prisoner in the Fleet for measuring his actions by his own private fence. But now, that for the same your Majesty's hand hath appeared in his punishment, he bows and humbles himself before and to it; whether he be mine or not I can discern by no light but that of your royal clemency; for only in your forgiveness can I own him for mine. . . . If now your Majesty will vouchsafe out of your own benignity to become a second nature, and restore that unto me which the first gave me, and vanity deprived me of, I shall keep my reckoning of the full number of my sons with comfort, and render the tribute of my most humble thankfulness"²

As a result of this courtly plea, reflecting family pride rather than paternal affection, Lucius was released within ten days.

Having just done his son a good turn, Lord Falkland was all the more ready to resent the young man's next move. Disregarding the plans for a marriage by which his father was hoping to mend his own broken fortunes, Lucius fell in love with the sister of one of his closest friends, and during this same winter married Lettice Morison, the daughter of Sir Richard Morison of Leicestershire. According to Lord Clarendon, she was "of a most extraordinary wit and judgment, and of the most signal virtue and exemplary life that the age produced." But as her father was neither noble nor rich, the viscount was enraged at his son's defiance and broke off all relations with him. To atone for his unfilial act, Lucius offered, with characteristic generosity, to give all his own new estate to his father and to receive in return only an allowance; but the proposal was scornfully rejected, and the breach between the two was never healed. As compensation for the lasting pain which this family schism caused him, Cary found in his wife a character of rare loveliness and deep piety, and with her and the three sons whom she bore him, his life at home was continuously happy.

Shortly after his marriage—no doubt to his wife's surprise—he took her with him to Holland, where he hoped he might find an opportunity to enter military service. An impulsive reaction to the quarrel with his father may have been one cause for this move; but behind his decision lay a genuine desire for a soldier's life, which would have given full scope for the courage and the high-hearted loyalty which marked him no less clearly than his gentleness and love of learning. It was a proof of how many-sided was his nature that as a soldier he should have tried

²Lady Theresa Lewis, *Lives of the Friends of . . . Clarendon*, I, App. A.

to begin his career and as a soldier he should have ended it. But at that moment in the Low Countries there proved to be no opening for him, and in the year 1631 he and his wife returned to England. He had resolved "to retire to a country life and to his books; that since he was not like to improve himself in arms, he might advance in letters."³ In these words of his dearest friend we are introduced to a new chapter in Cary's life. Since leaving Ireland he had come to know Edward Hyde, the future earl of Clarendon, and it is to Clarendon's matchless portrait-painting in his autobiography and his *History of the Rebellion* that we owe our sense of intimate acquaintance with Cary. From now on, the older man watched every detail in the life of the younger, and in most of his experiences found a share.

Of Lucius Cary, as he then saw him, Hyde wrote:

"His stature was low, and smaller than most men; his motion not graceful; and his aspect so far from inviting that it had somewhat in it of simplicity; and his voice the worst of the three, and so untuned that instead of reconciling it offended the ear, so that nobody would have expected music from that tongue; and sure no man was less beholden to nature for its recommendation into the world: but then no man sooner, or more, disappointed this general and customary prejudice; that little person and small stature was quickly found to contain a great heart, a courage so keen, and a nature so fearless, that no composition of the strongest limbs, and most harmonious and proportioned presence and strength, ever more disposed any man to the greatest enterprise; it being his greatest weakness to be too solicitous of such adventures: and that untuned tongue and voice easily discovered itself to be supplied and governed by a mind and understanding so excellent, that the wit and weight of all he said carried another kind of lustre and admiration in it . . . and his disposition and nature was so gentle and obliging, so much delighted in courtesy, kindness, and generosity, that all mankind could not but admire and love him."⁴

Because he was fundamentally serious-minded and given to forming and fulfilling strong purposes, Cary ignored the chance to shine in London society, either among the wits or at court. His intellectual brilliance and his personal charm might have carried him far in either group, but he had other plans of longer range. He retired to his estate at Great Tew, and there set himself to learn Greek and to study theology. Within two years, Clarendon reports, he had read most of the Greek historians and poets and was pressing on to more profound research

³Edward, Earl of Clarendon, *Life* (Oxford, 1817), I, 34.

⁴Clarendon, *Life*, I, 33.

in the works which he was to make his special field—the Church Fathers. Having a determined will, and enjoying not only his mother's gift for languages, but abundant leisure to employ it, he was soon able to meet theologians on equal terms.

Before he had completed these first years of study at Great Tew, Cary's retirement was broken by his father's death in 1633, and the need to settle business affairs recalled him to a prolonged stay in London. Though he was now a viscount, the title added to his expenses rather than to his income, for his father had long been heavily in debt. Yet his means remained adequate to maintain an almost lavish mode of living and a generosity from which his needier friends were often to benefit.

It was not for his money, however, that he was always surrounded by friends. The fact that he could offer at Great Tew an ample hospitality with every comfort may have heightened his popularity, but it does not account for it. He became the center of more than one group of gifted contemporaries, chiefly because he was intellectually alert and sensitive to a high degree, and at the same time warmly sympathetic. Along with an unconscious charm, he had that faculty of appreciation which draws out the best in others. Though Great Tew may have been secluded, he himself could never have been a recluse. He could not achieve his ends in the midst of all the distractions of London life; but he was always eager to welcome his friends whenever they sought him out; and since they responded to him almost as to a magnet, he was seldom alone and never lonely.

Of the two groups of friends with which Falkland's name is associated, the earlier was composed of poets and their patrons, men whom he had first come to know in London after his return from Ireland. Whenever in the next few years he was to be found in the city, he was often in their company, and still later many of them were among his guests at Burford or Great Tew.

Easily the chief was Ben Jonson, who was so heavily laden with classical scholarship that he declared that "Shakespeare wanted art." He would be deeply grieved to learn that a thousand know him today as the author of "Drink to me only with thine eyes" to one who remembers him as the great literary dictator of the age, predecessor of Dryden and Samuel Johnson. Though Falkland survived him, the poet honored his friend when he composed his *Pindaric Ode* to celebrate "the immortal memory and friendship of that noble pair, Sir Lucius Cary and Sir Henry Morison."⁸ In these verses he addresses "noble Lucius" as well as Morison, and of them both he wrote:

⁸Lettice Cary's brother, who died before his sister's marriage.

"You liv'd to be the great sir-names,
And titles, by which all made claims
Unto the virtue: nothing perfect done,
But as a Cary, or a Morison."

Here is no slight tribute when we remember that it was offered to a young man of twenty, with almost no achievements to his credit, and that the writer was the foremost man of letters in England. What Falkland, in return, thought of Jonson is expressed in the long *Eclogue* he wrote at the latter's death, in which these words appear:

"Her great instructor gone, I know the age
No less laments than doth the widow'd stage,
And only vice and folly now are glad,
Our gods are troubled and our prince is sad."

But Jonson was only one of those who were wont to foregather, often in the company of Falkland. Who these congenial spirits were is recorded in a poem of Sir John Suckling, called *The Sessions of the Poets*. Suckling himself was one of them—"that happy-go-lucky Cavalier" who, in his own words,

" . . . lov'd not the Muses so well as his sport;
And priz'd black eyes, or a lucky hit
At bowls, above all the trophies of wit."

His end was to be exile and suicide; but meantime he was the singer of more than one song remembered today, such as

"Why so pale and wan, fond lover?
Prithee, why so pale?
Will, when looking well can't move her,
Looking ill prevail?
Prithee, why so pale?"

Carew was a fellow Cavalier poet—the best of them—more solid and more talented than Suckling. Less lyrical, but destined to be more admired in the coming age, were the poets Waller and Davenant.

Of a quite different stripe from these, and quite unlike each other, were Sandys, Digby, and Selden. George Sandys, the youngest son of the archbishop of York, was the brother of Hooker's pupil, Sir Edwin Sandys, and a member of the Virginia Company. As a wide traveler in Europe, America, and Palestine, he had much to contribute to those who knew only England. Falkland wrote three poems to him, in one of which he declared:

"None hath a larger heart, a fuller head,
For he hath seen as much as you have read"

Sir Kenelm Digby, said Clarendon, was "very eminent and notorious throughout the whole course of his life, from his cradle to his grave," a restless adventurer and graceful courtier, handsome, lively, and voluble, who could fight pirates from the deck of a man-of-war or write treatises *Concerning Vegetation of Plants*. Half charlatan and half hero, he really belonged in the middle of Elizabeth's reign.

In sharp and sober contrast appeared John Selden, the great lawyer and the most learned scholar of his time. His portrait, too, has been painted for us by Clarendon:

"Mr. Selden was a person whom no character can flatter, or transmit in any expressions equal to his merit and virtue. He was of so stupendous learning in all kinds and in all languages . . . that a man would have thought he had been entirely conversant amongst books, and had never spent an hour but in reading and writing; yet his humanity, courtesy, and affability was such that he would have been thought to have been bred in the best courts, but that his good nature, charity, and delight in doing good, and in communicating all he knew, exceeded that breeding."⁶

Selden, with his cool and temperate common sense, would have felt more at home in the eighteenth century than he could ever have felt in an epoch like his own, when a rather cynical humor was not in fashion and when men were readily roused to furious controversy about religious and political dogmas. He must have produced no small effect upon a mind as liberal and open as Falkland's. To show the direction of the influence he probably exerted, we may cite a few examples of his shrewd comments on the issues of the hour.

"Bishops," Selden remarked, "are now unfit to govern, because of their learning; they are bred up in another law; they run to the text for something done amongst the Jews that nothing concerns England. 'Tis just as if a man would have a kettle and he would not go to our brazier to have it made, as they make kettles; but would have it made as Hiram made his brass work, who wrought in Solomon's temple."

A very fair estimate, it must be granted, of the bishops who would prove the divine right of kings or the necessity for tithes from Old Testament texts. As for bishops in general and what to do about them, Selden scorned alike the Laudian and the Puritan attitudes:

⁶Clarendon, *Life*, I, 26.

"They are equally mad," he declared, "who say bishops are so *jure divino* that they must be continued, and they who say they are so anti-Christian that they must be put away. All is as the State pleases."

Toward the sacredness of holy orders he took the rational layman's view:

"The imposition of hands upon the minister, when all is done, will be nothing but a designation of a person to this or that office or employment in the Church. . . . A priest has no such thing as an indelible character. What difference do you find betwixt him and another man after ordination?"

When he turns from bishops and priests to the General Councils of the Church, so prominent in every controversy, his wit has a chilling effect:

"They talk (but blasphemously enough) that the Holy Ghost is President of their General Councils, when the truth is, the odd man is still the Holy Ghost."

For students of Falkland, these sessions of the poets and their friends throw light on his varied sympathies and remind us that he himself passed for a poet. But for students of Anglicanism, there is more to be learned from other friends who visited him constantly at his country seat between 1633 and 1640, and who shared on each occasion in what Clarendon called a *convivium theologicum*.

"His house where he usually resided . . . being within ten or twelve miles of the University, looked like the University itself, by the company that was always found there. There was Dr. Sheldon, Dr. Morley, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Earle, Mr. Chillingworth, and indeed all men of eminent parts and faculties in Oxford, besides those who resorted thither from London; who all found their lodgings there, as ready as in the colleges; nor did the lord of the house know of their coming or going, nor who were in his house, till he came to dinner, or supper, where all still met; otherwise, there was no troublesome ceremony or constraint, to forbid men to come to the house, or to make them weary of staying there; so that many came thither to study in a better air, finding all the books they could desire in his library, and all the persons together whose company they could wish, and not find in any other society."⁸

⁷John Selden, *Table-Talk* (Ed. Arber), 26, 28, 71 f., 41.

⁸Clarendon, *Life*, I, 36.

For taking an active part in these *symposia*, Falkland was qualified not only by the learning in biblical and patristic literature which he had achieved, but no less by the friendly generosity of his disposition. Thanks to the perfect temper of the host, group discussion must have been maintained at a high level.

"In all these controversies," Clarendon later recalled, "he had so dispassioned a consideration, such a candor in his nature, and so profound a charity in his conscience, that in those points in which he was in his own judgment most clear, he never thought the worse of those who were of another mind; which, without question, is an excellent temper for the propagation and advancement of Christianity. With all these great advantages of industry, he had a memory retentive of all that he had ever read, and an understanding and judgment to apply it seasonably and appositely, with the most dexterity and address, and the least pedantry and affectation that every man who knew so much was possessed with. . . . But all his parts, abilities, and faculties, by art and industry, were not to be valued or mentioned in comparison of his most accomplished mind and manners: his gentleness and affability was so transcendent and obliging that it drew reverence, and some kind of compliance from the roughest and most unpolished constitutions, and made them of another temper in debate, in his presence, than they were in other places."⁹

A recent writer has enumerated some twenty-five men who might be said to belong to this serious-minded circle at Great Tew; but for our purposes five may be counted typical of the theological element—Sheldon, Morley, Hammond, Hales, and Chillingworth.

Gilbert Sheldon, wrote Bishop Burnet, "had a quickness of apprehension, a true judgment, a dexterity in business, and a pleasantness of conversation perhaps too great. . . . His learning had been esteemed before the wars, but it was then all lost in politics, and his sense of religion was not much."¹⁰ Though by 1635 he was only warden of All Souls' College, Oxford, one of his friends remarked at this time that "he was born and bred to be Archbishop of Canterbury"—and that is what he became thirty years later. Meantime, if not the deepest, he was one of the most companionable of the group.

A livelier and more entertaining member was George Morley, whose habit of jesting sometimes hurt his official reputation more than did his Calvinism. Burnet and Baxter refer to his passionate spirit, his hot temper, and his ready tongue. Neither Sheldon nor Morley, however, made any contribution to theology.

⁹Clarendon, *Life*, I, 37.

¹⁰Gilbert Burnet, *History of His Own Times*, Bk. II.

A finer character and a thinker of more consequence than either of these men was Henry Hammond, a fellow of Magdalen, then in his early thirties. A High Churchman in his convictions, he was marked for his charitable tolerance, and loved for his singular charm and his sweetness of temper.

Most original and attractive of all these members of the *convivium theologicum* was "the ever-memorable" John Hales. Rather older than the others, he was then about fifty. After serving as lecturer in Greek at Oxford, where he was a fellow of Merton, he sought a life of still quieter retirement, and accepted a fellowship in Eton College, where he lived as a studious recluse. It must have been something of a triumph to enlist him in the group at Great Tew, yet there is evidence that he was at least an occasional visitor. What qualified him perfectly for theological discussion was not only "the acute and piercing wit" and the "vast and illimited knowledge," to which Bishop Pearson testifies, for these are sometimes attributes of objectionable ecclesiastics. It was rather his tolerant gentleness of spirit and the Christian charity which pervaded all his thought. Though once inclined to follow Calvin in his thinking, he had been cured of Calvinism by attending the acrimonious sessions of the Synod of Dort. In reaction against the persecuting spirit, he "would often say that he would renounce the religion of the Church of England tomorrow if it obliged him to believe that any other Christians should be damned; and that nobody would conclude another man to be damned who did not wish him so. . . . And he thought that pride and passion, more than conscience, were the cause of all separation from each other's communion."¹¹

His shy reluctance to express himself set a limit to the influence of Hales in his lifetime, and not till several years after his death in 1656 did there appear his *Golden Remains*, in which some part of his thinking is all too briefly interpreted. The fact that Laud made him his chaplain, and had him appointed canon of Windsor, is proof enough of his soundness in the faith. Yet how different from Laud's utterances, and how congenial to Falkland, were words like these from Hales' sermon on "Him that is weak in the faith receive ye, but not to doubtful disputations" (Roman xiv. 1):

"This peremptory manner of setting down our own conclusions under this high commanding form of 'necessary truths' is generally one of the greatest causes which keeps the churches this day so far asunder; whenas a gracious receiving of each other, by mutual forbearance in this kind, might peradventure in time bring them nearer together. . . . Were we not so ready

¹¹Clarendon, *Life*, I, 46.

to anathematize each other, where we concur not in opinion, we might in hearts be united, though in our tongues we were divided, and that with singular profit to all sides. It is 'the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace' and not identity of conceit which the Holy Ghost requires at the hands of Christians."¹²

There we have Anglicanism at its best; and if its fortunes in that century could have been entrusted to men who agreed with Hales, the Church of England might have remained a national Church in more than name only.

Probably best known to posterity among Falkland's philosophical friends, and closest to Falkland himself, was William Chillingworth, author of one of the most famous theological works of that era, *The Religion of Protestants a Safe Way to Salvation*. Chillingworth was the son of an Oxford brewer and a godson of William Laud. His pursuit of "a safe way to salvation" was no mere academic research, for at the age of twenty-six, while a fellow of Trinity College, Oxford, he had been converted to the Roman Church by a Jesuit priest, and had retired to the Catholic seminary at Douai for study. Largely through the persistent efforts of Laud, he was later persuaded to return to Oxford, and six years after his conversion he once more declared himself a Protestant. To justify his repudiation of Rome and to proclaim the soundness of his final decision, he set about at once the composition of *The Religion of Protestants*. And it was at Great Tew that he "wrote, and formed, and modelled this excellent book . . . after frequent debates upon the most important particulars."¹³ Since he was a born controversialist, "it was very difficult," as Clarendon says, "to keep a man's self from being a little discomposed by his sharpness and quickness of argument and instances. . . . He had spent all his younger time in disputation, and had arrived to so great a mastery as he was inferior to no man in those skirmishes . . ."¹⁴

In 1637 Chillingworth's book was published. Though in form it was a refutation of the claims of the Roman Church, in substance it was a liberal appeal against religious persecution and in favor of a broad and comprehensive toleration. Like his opponents, Roman and Protestant, he assumes the infallibility of the Scriptures. In the Bible, he argued, will be found set forth with utmost clearness those fundamental truths which are necessary to salvation. Whatever in it is obscure or provocative of disagreement is not fundamental or necessary to salvation. In other words, nothing is indispensable except what is plainly

¹²Hales, *Golden Remains* (1659), 55, 54.

¹³Clarendon, *Life*, I, 36.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, I, 47.

revealed. And that is very limited in amount. Best of all summaries of what is fundamental is the Apostles' Creed. To stop quarreling about non-essentials and to accept such a platform as the Creed, upon which all Christians could unite, would bring harmony and peace. Why should we make the way to heaven narrower than Christ left it, or his yoke heavier than he made it?¹³

"He that could demonstrate," he urged, "that only these points of belief are simply necessary to salvation, wherein Christians generally agree, should he not lay a very fair and firm foundation of the peace of Christendom?"¹⁴

And then his eloquence rises to its height in a superb plea for unity through liberty:

"Take away this persecuting, burning, cursing, damning of men for not subscribing to the words of men, as the words of God; require of Christians only to believe Christ, and to call no man master but him only; let those leave claiming infallibility that have no title to it, and let them that in their words disclaim it, disclaim it likewise in their actions. In a word, take away tyranny, which is the devil's instrument to support errors and superstitions and impieties . . . which could not otherwise long withstand the power of truth; I say take away tyranny, and restore Christians to their just and full liberty of captivating their understanding to Scripture only; and as rivers, when they have a free passage, run all to the ocean, so it may well be hoped, by God's blessing, that universal liberty, thus moderated, may quickly reduce Christendom to truth and unity."¹⁵

All this debate about infallibility, and this discussion as to where salvation could be found, meant more to Falkland than mere intellectual exercise. His own mind and heart were deeply involved, for he was under constant pressure from his mother and her priestly guides to change his faith and submit to Rome. Partly, then, because such questions were stirring all thoughtful men in the country, and partly because they were almost a matter of life and death to him, he was intensely concerned with the problem of religious authority. His own attempt to solve it was his discourse, *Of the Infallibility of the Church of Rome*. Though probably written about 1636 and circulated in manuscript, this tract was not published until 1645, and six years later it was reprinted with an answer to it by an opponent, together with *The Lord of Falkland's Reply*.

¹³Chillingworth, *Works* (London, 1836), 262, 228.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, 252.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, 253 f.

Though clearly under the strong influence of Chillingworth and Hales, Falkland made many of their ideas his own and expressed them in his own fashion. Denying Rome's claim to an infallibility based on her own authority, he demands that it be clearly proved. He declares that to appeal to Scripture and tradition is really to argue in a circle, and he gives examples of the conflicting variations of Catholic doctrine. Finding other evidence no more convincing, he denies both the existence and the necessity of any infallible authority, and proclaims the basic authority of *reason* as the supreme guide in religion. We may be sure, he maintains, that to those "who follow their reason in the interpretation of the Scriptures, God will either give His grace for assistance to find the truth or His pardon if they miss it. And then this supposed necessity of an infallible guide (with the supposed damnation for the want of it) fall together to the ground."¹⁸ Since it is only the belief in infallibility which can keep alive the spirit of persecution, we find that "underlying his veneration of reason and his ideal of the Church there was . . . an instinctive detestation of force as an intellectual and moral weapon."¹⁹ In a finely indignant passage he writes,

"I confess this opinion of damning so many, and this custom of burning so many, this breeding up of those who know nothing else in any point of religion, yet to be in a readiness to cry, *To the fire with him, to hell with him*—these, I say, were chiefly the causes which made so many so suddenly leave the Church of Rome."²⁰

Though Falkland's *Discourse* was directed against the Roman Catholic Church, all that he says against infallibility and the evils of persecution applies, as he well knew, with equal force to the Laudian type of Anglican and to the dogmatic Puritan. And these intolerant groups were at that moment more of a threat to peace and Christian brotherhood than any papal ambitions.

"It seemed to him then, as it has seemed to many since, possible to make room within the national Church for wide differences of dogmatic opinion, or, in other words, for the free rights of the Christian reason incessantly pursuing its inquest after truth, and moulding the national consciousness to higher conceptions of religious thought and duty. The frame of the Church of England was admirably suited for such a purpose as linking together in its Catholic order the Christian ages, and being in itself both apostolic and rational. He would have re-

¹⁸Falkland, *Discourse of Infallibility*. (The pages are not numbered.)

¹⁹W. K. Jordan, *Development of Religious Toleration in England*, II, 376.

²⁰Falkland, *Discourse* (no pagination).

formed but preserved and purified it, as the flexible and appropriate vehicle of the nation's religious progress."²¹

The ten years which followed Falkland's return from Ireland, 1629-1639, were the years which included his sociable retirement at Great Tew. They were also the period of Charles' attempt at absolute personal government, with no Parliament to hinder him and with William Laud ever more active as adviser and promoter of policy. The royal prospects took an alarming turn for the worse with the rising tide of rebellion in Scotland, the signing of the Solemn League and Covenant, and the outbreak, in the summer of 1639, of the first Bishops' War. This year marks an equally sharp break in the career of Falkland. From then on, he ceases to be the scholarly country gentleman, and becomes a figure in political history. His first move, in response to the king's appeal to the nobility for support, was to enlist as a volunteer with the earl of Essex and to share the fortunes of the forlorn army which was intended to subdue Scotland. As a soldier, both high-spirited and intelligent, he could hardly have failed to be mortified at the helpless manoeuvring which ended in the patched-up truce at Berwick. Nor could his opinion of the king (never very high) have been much enhanced by this spectacle of monarchy trying to exact obedience from subjects who refused to tremble.

We know almost nothing of Falkland's activities in this brief campaign; and when next we hear of him he has been elected (as was then permissible for Scottish peers) a member of the House of Commons for Newport in the Isle of Wight. During the three weeks of the Short Parliament, as a young newcomer, he played no role of importance, nor did he speak, so far as we know, on any of the issues; but we have Clarendon's word for it that in these days of tension he was deeply impressed with the quality of his fellow members and with the sober gravity of their debates. In common, moreover, with all sensible moderates, he regretted profoundly the "unhappy and unseasonable dissolution" by which, as it turned out, a petulant king lost his last chance.

After the six months which witnessed the second Bishops' War and the increasing desperation of Charles—penniless again but still unrepentant—the Long Parliament convened on November 3, 1640. Falkland had been elected for the same constituency and began at once to take an active share in the debates. He was one of a moderate minority, a group of thoughtful middle-of-the-road men to whom the Puritan policies in Church and state were too extreme to be acceptable, and who were quite as antagonistic to the "Thorough" of Strafford and

²¹John Tulloch, *Rational Theology . . . in the Seventeenth Century*, I, 168.

Laud. Like all such temperate and liberal groups in time of revolution, it was not destined to last long.

It was the aim of Falkland and of Hyde, no less than of Pym and Hampden, to check the abuses of royal power which for eleven years past had excited so much bitter opposition. They favored a constitutional monarchy, as opposed to the growing absolutism encouraged by Strafford and Laud. In siding at this stage against the king, Falkland's motive was no desire for radical change, but a determination to maintain the limits which law and tradition had set to the royal prerogative. "He was so rigid an observer of established laws and rules that he could not endure the least breach or deviation from them; and thought no mischief so intolerable as the presumption of ministers of state to break positive rules for reasons of state."²² He was active in opposition to the king's ministers and in support of Hampden, whom he greatly admired.

Among the first acts of Falkland was a vehement speech against the methods of extorting ship-money—one of the many grievances which called for redress. He condemned the judges who had advised the king that the exactions demanded were legal, and he played a vigorous part in the prosecution of Lord Keeper Finch, who escaped to the Continent before he could be tried. Falkland was again on the popular side in the impeachment of Strafford, and even voted in favor of the bill of attainder which brought the earl to the scaffold. Moreover, he united with Pym and Hampden, and the overwhelming majority, in bringing about the abolition of the Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission, and in passing the bill to secure triennial parliaments.

Up to a certain point, indeed, Falkland was ready to support changes in the Church. Though he disliked Laud, he took no part in the impeachment of the archbishop; but on February 8, 1641, he spoke his mind freely on the subject of bishops. The House had recently received the "Root and Branch Petition," demanding the abolition of episcopacy, and the "Ministers' Petition and Remonstrance," advocating the reformation of episcopacy and the removal of bishops from the House of Lords. Addressing himself to these appeals, Falkland began:

"Mr. Speaker,—He is a great stranger in Israel who knows not this kingdom hath long labored under many and great oppressions both in religion and liberty; and his acquaintance here is not great, or his ingenuity less, who doth not know and acknowledge that a great, if not a principal cause of both these have been some bishops and their adherents."

²²Clarendon, *History of the Rebellion* (Oxford, 1807), II, 529.

Having thus all but named William Laud and the Laudian bishops, he went on to describe their achievement in one devastating phrase—"the destruction of unity under pretence of uniformity."

"A little search will serve to find them . . . to have brought in superstition and scandal under the titles of reverence and decency; to have defiled our Church by adorning our churches; to have slackened the strictness of that union which was formerly between us and those of our religion beyond the sea: an action as impolitic as ungodly. . . . We shall find them to have tithed mint and anise, and have left undone the weightier works of the law . . . and which is yet more, the conforming to ceremonies hath been more exacted than the conforming to Christianity."

"Mr. Speaker," he continued, "we shall find them to have resembled . . . the Dog in the Manger; to have neither preached themselves not employed those that should," and of such preaching as they encourage the most frequent subjects have been "the *jus divinum* of bishops, and of tithes, the sacredness of the clergy. . . . So it seemed their work was to try how much of a Papist might be brought in without Popery; and to destroy as much as they could of the Gospel without bringing themselves into danger of being destroyed by the law. . . . Nay, common fame is more than ordinarily false if none of them have found a way to reconcile the opinions of Rome to the preferments of England; and to be so absolutely, directly, and cordially Papists, that it is all fifteen hundred pounds a year can do to keep them from confessing it."²³ And passing from what the bishops had done in the Church to the disasters they had helped to bring upon the state, he accused them of encouraging and abetting the arbitrary acts of the king, the breach with Scotland, and the tyranny of Strafford. Those who would estimate the effect of Laud's policy from 1629 to 1640 would do well to note that this speech was not uttered by a bitter Puritan like Milton, but by an aristocrat who loved the Church of England, and who was soon to give his life in the cause of the king.

As to these charges, there was general agreement in the House of Commons, since few attempted to defend the bishops. In fact, those who disliked them least were so lukewarm that Falkland "was wont to say that they who hated bishops hated them worse than the devil, and that they who loved them did not love them so well as their dinner."²⁴

Disagreement grew increasingly sharp, however, when it came to deciding what action should be taken. Corresponding to opposing groups

²³For this and later quotations from Falkland's speeches, see Marriott, *Falkland*, 181-204.

²⁴Clarendon, *Rebellion*, III, 241.

throughout the nation, there were two parties in Parliament, one demanding the complete abolition of episcopacy, the other favoring moderate reform. Falkland, needless to say, shared this latter view. He rejected, it is true, the dogma that bishops rule by divine right as successors of the apostles. "I do not believe them," he declared, "to be *jure divino*; nay, I believe them not to be *jure divino*." But he refused to condemn bishops as bishops, and proceeded to point out the immense contributions they had made to the welfare of the Church from the earliest days to the Reformation. "Bishops," he insisted, "may be good men; and let us give but good men good rules, we shall have both good government and good times." Against the "root and branch" policy of abolition, he took a firm stand:

"We shall not think fit to abolish, upon a few days' debate, an Order which hath lasted . . . in most churches these sixteen hundred years, and in all from Christ to Calvin; or in an instant change the whole face of the Church like the scene of a mask. . . . My opinion is that we should not root up this ancient tree, as dead as it appears, till we have tried whether by . . . lopping of the branches, the sap which was unable to feed the whole, may not serve to make what is left grow and flourish."

Since action to restrict the power of bishops was a step upon which nearly all could agree, a bill was introduced on March 30, 1641, providing for the ejection of the bishops from the House of Lords and the Privy Council and for disabling clergymen from performing any civil functions. This "Bishops' Bill" was finally passed by the House of Commons a month later. Falkland voted for it not only on the ground (as Clarendon notes) that this step was necessary to quiet the general storm against bishops, but also because he counted the destruction of the Laudian version of episcopacy necessary to preserve religious and political liberty. If the right kind of episcopacy was to be perpetuated, as he hoped it would be, the wrong kind must be deprived of its weapons. The vote in the Commons, however, was not decisive, for after the bill reached the House of Lords it was first drastically amended and then rejected.

Just before the Lords cast their vote against this moderate bill, there was introduced into the Commons a radical act "for the utter abolishing and taking away of all archbishops, bishops . . . deans," etc. It was an indication that the refusal to take temperate measures was not the best way to preserve episcopacy. Falkland, of course, opposed the bill with vigor, declaring in the language of a true conservative,

"My first inconvenience of this change is the inconvenience of change itself, which is so great an inconvenience, when the change is so great and sudden, that in such cases when it is not necessary to change, it is necessary not to change."

In spite of the efforts of the more extreme Puritans, the measure made little headway, and when Parliament reassembled on October 20th after recess, it was dropped. On the following day, the second Bishops' Bill was introduced in the House of Commons. It contained the same provisions as the first, and was passed within two days. On this occasion, however, Falkland voted against it. The reason appears to be that when he approved the first bill, he had been assured by Hampden and others that no further steps would be taken against the bishops. Having now discovered what the enemies of episcopacy were really aiming at, he declined to give them further support, and even modified many of the charges he had made against Laud and Laud's followers. But the increasing pressure, which he was able to resist, proved too much for the House of Lords, which passed the bill; and on February 14, 1642, it was actually signed by the king.

While the fate of the bishops was being gradually determined, events of more critical import had taken place. In November, the House of Commons had debated and adopted the Grand Remonstrance, which aimed to record the chief grievances of the past fifteen years and to rouse popular feeling against Charles. It was at this point that Falkland broke with the leaders with whom he had hitherto cooperated, and siding with the king, he voted against the Remonstrance. Though this action has been interpreted as a desertion of the cause of liberty to which he was pledged, to Falkland it appeared that he himself was calmly consistent and that his former associates were swinging rapidly to the left. Both he and Hyde opposed the famous document because of its hostility to the king, of whose incurable duplicity they were not then aware. They agreed, too, that for Parliament to claim the right to control the appointment of the king's ministers was to encroach unjustly on the royal prerogative. But Falkland's main motive in voting "No" was his concern for the Church. The Grand Remonstrance included a plan for Church reform which clearly threatened to turn the Church over to Puritan, and probably to Presbyterian, control. In the fear of Calvinistic intolerance, which the future was to prove justified, he found the strongest reason for his decision.

The vote on the Grand Remonstrance divided the House of Commons into two parties; and Falkland had now to abandon all hope that he could continue to serve his country without taking sides in an irreconcilable conflict. The necessity to make a final choice was forcibly

brought home to him a few weeks later, when Charles urged him to accept the post of his secretary of state. Such an offer was unsought and even unexpected, for "he was so jealous of the least imagination that he should incline to preferment that he affected even a moroseness to the Court and to the courtiers, and left nothing undone which might prevent or divert the King's or Queen's favor towards him, but the deserving of it."²⁵ With great reluctance, however, he finally accepted the call, since he feared his refusal would be damaging to the king's cause. Though for Charles himself he had no great admiration, his loyalty to the monarchy and to the Church was intense and unwavering.

"He had not the Court in great reverence, and had a presaging spirit that the King would fall into great misfortune: and often said to his friend [Clarendon] that he chose to serve the King because honesty obliged him to it; but that he foresaw his own ruin by doing it."²⁶

The courageous step which Falkland's conscience had prompted him to take brought him duties and responsibilities with which he was totally unfamiliar. The novelty of his burdens added to their weight. Still harder to bear was the necessity to deal with men like George Lord Digby and Henry Jermyn, favorites of the queen, who often controlled the king through her. In their standards of public and private morality, these and many other Cavaliers he found thoroughly unsympathetic. Though outwardly genial, he was inwardly austere.

"He was in his nature so severe a lover of justice, and so precise a lover of truth, that he was superior to all possible temptations for the violation of either."

This trait alone was enough to make him feel out of place at court. And when we add that "he had so chaste a tongue and ear that there was never known a profane or loose word to fall from him, nor in truth in his company,"²⁷ we find it all the easier to imagine that among his new associates he could never have been altogether happy and perhaps not always welcome.

His confidence in the king and in the royal prospects must have been nearly shattered before he had been in office a week; for it was on January 4, 1642, that Charles, with his armed guard, entered the House of Commons to seize the Five Members. Though in no way

²⁵Clarendon, *Rebellion*, II, 530.

²⁶Clarendon, *Life*, I, 79.

²⁷*Ibid.*, I, 37, 38

responsible for this tragicomic fiasco, Falkland could not have failed to realize that the reputation of the king's ministers would suffer and that any solution short of war had now become unlikely. Six days later, Charles left Whitehall, "resigning the capital and its neighborhood to his enemies," and Parliament, in self-defense, began to assume military powers. Preparations for war proceeded on both sides. The king at York was gradually joined by a large majority of the Peers and a minority of the Commons, while some three hundred members of the latter House and thirty of the House of Lords remained at Westminster. In spite of the danger involved, Falkland stayed at the capital until June, that he might serve the king's interests and act as intermediary in the negotiations which still continued. Though many petitions and proposals were exchanged during the next six months, war became ever more plainly inevitable; and on August 22nd, with the raising of the royal standard, it officially began.

"From the entrance into this unnatural war [Falkland's] natural cheerfulness and vivacity grew clouded, and a kind of sadness and dejection of spirits stole upon him, which he had never been used to."²⁸ More conscious perhaps than any other man of the rights and wrongs on both sides, he had passionately hoped for peace and worked for it. Even after the conflict began, he continued to exploit every opportunity for agreement, and in the course of the next year he neglected no effort which might lead to reconciliation.

Like leaders on the other side, such as Essex, Falkland shared a common belief that the war would end quickly, perhaps with only one decisive battle. He entertained the further delusion that the parliamentary forces would never be able to resist the king's army. Encouraged by these convictions, he was recklessly active in the first major engagement of the war, the battle of Edgehill, fought on October 23rd. His known zeal for peace, he believed, made it necessary for him to show that he did not seek peace because he was afraid to fight. But, aside from this motive,

"in his natural inclination he acknowledged he was addicted to the profession of a soldier. . . . He had a courage of the most clear and keen temper, and so far from fear that he seemed not without some appetite of danger; and therefore, upon any occasion of action, he always engaged his person in those troops which he thought . . . to be most like to be farthest engaged."²⁹

Though the fight at Edgehill brought some encouragement to the king's followers, it was really a drawn battle which dashed all hopes

²⁸Clarendon, *Rebellion*, II, 536.

²⁹Clarendon, *Rebellion*, II, 535 f.

that the struggle would be over in a few weeks. The royal forces advanced to Oxford, and there Charles established his military headquarters and his court. Oxford was then, in the words of Thomas Fuller, "a court, a garrison, and a university"—a court most of all, and least of all a university. The king lodged at Christ Church, and most of the other colleges were occupied, in whole or in part, by courtiers and officers of the government or the army. Some, in fact, had become barracks for common soldiers. Fortifications had been thrown up on three sides of the city, drilling went on in the open fields, and supply wagons and artillery crowded their way through the streets. To complete the academic transformation, New College cloister and tower were converted into a magazine for arms and gunpowder, and oats and corn were stored in the Law School. Moved by an address from the king, pleading for such aid, most of the colleges gave the greater part of their silver plate to be melted down to provide cash with which to pay the soldiers. In short, the usually sober town was swarming with unwonted variety—Cavaliers of every grade of conduct, dons young and old, clergy seeking refuge, and students doing almost everything but study. Perhaps for students alone the war had come as a not unwelcome diversion. Many of them enlisted in the army; many others joined in building the works of defence or in drilling in certain parks where "they were put into battle array and skirmished together in a very decent manner." And few could have failed to enjoy the excitement of having the king and queen in their midst, and all Oxford daily enlivened by a rich diversity of behavior seldom modelled on university rules for undergraduates.

For the next eleven months, Falkland was at the king's side through a period of warfare and of negotiation. As week after week dragged on without decisive results, he grew steadily more depressed. "Those indispositions which had before touched him, grew into a perfect habit of uncheerfulness." Not the least among his trials was to maintain a respectful loyalty toward a royal master whose obstinacy never kept him from vacillation, and toward a queen always enmeshed in intrigues and always drawing out the worst traits in her doting husband. Though Charles could not fail to realize his minister's utter sincerity and fidelity, he did not relish his direct speech and his distaste for flattery. As Clarendon expressed it,

"Albeit [Falkland] had the greatest compliance with the weakness and even the humor of other men, when there could be no suspicion of flattery, . . . yet toward the King, who

many times obstinately adhered to many conclusions which did not naturally result from good premises, and did love to argue many things to which he would not so positively adhere, he did not practise that condescension; but contradicted him with more bluntness and by sharp sentences."³⁰

It is no wonder that in preference to being a secretary of state at a court where there was no statesmanship nor even a consistent policy, he should long for action on the battlefield. And he had not long to wait.

The year 1643 had, on the whole, proved favorable to the king. Even a Puritan historian, writing of the summer months, confessed that "the Parliament was at that time so far sunk both in strength and reputation, and so much forsaken by those who followed fortune, that nothing but an extraordinary providence could make it again emergent." As a step toward opening a path for one of the three armies which were about to advance on London, Charles began on August 10th the siege of Gloucester. But the resistance proved unexpectedly obstinate, and gave time for the earl of Essex, heavily reinforced by the London militia, to march to the rescue. Though his approach led to the raising of the siege, he was soon confronted with the royal army blocking his return toward London. Thus began the first battle of Newbury on September 20, 1643, an engagement that was to prove a turning point in the war.

Falkland had been with the king during the siege, and accompanied him on the march to Newbury.

"Hurried by his fate, in the morning of the battle, as he was naturally inquisitive after danger, [he] put himself into the head of Sir John Byron's regiment, which he believed was like to be in the hottest service, and was then appointed to charge a body of foot; and in that charge was shot with a musket ball, so that he fell dead from his horse."³¹

And in these words his best friend lamented his death: He was "a person of such prodigious parts of learning and knowledge, of that inimitable sweetness and delight in conversation, of so flowing and obliging a humanity and goodness to mankind, and of that primitive simplicity and integrity of life, that if there were no other brand upon this odious and accursed civil war than that single loss, it must be infamous and

³⁰Clarendon, *Life*, I, 79.

³¹*Ibid.*, I, 140.

execrable to all posterity."²² He was "one of that rare band of the sons of time, soldiers in lost causes, who find this world too vexed and rough a scene for them, but to whom history will never grudge her tenderest memories."²³

²²Clarendon, *Rebellion*, II, 526.

²³John Morley, *Oliver Cromwell*, 130.

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NEW LIGHT ON THE ORIGINS OF THE METHOD
OF ELECTING BISHOPS ADOPTED BY THE
AMERICAN EPISCOPAL CHURCH

By G. MacLaren Brydon*

THE question must often be asked by students of the history of the American Episcopal Church as to how its distinctive features came into existence. These distinctive features are obvious, when the Episcopal Church is compared with the Church of England, from which it sprung, or indeed with the other great historic churches of the Roman and Eastern Communions. The part that the laity of the Church take in all its government, from the selection of the rector by the vestry of a local parish to the lay vote in the election of a bishop, and the essential part that the laity take in all diocesan and general legislation, is a precious possession of the American Church. That Church, in the adoption of these divergent ways, has blazed the way for all younger branches of the Anglican Communion.¹

The right of the vestry, as an elected group representing the land-owners of a parish, to select their own rector was won, as is now well known, after hard fighting by the parishes in those colonies in America, such as Virginia and New England, which were outside the group of palatinate provinces in which the proprietor appointed the incumbents of Anglican parishes. From these freer parishes, the right of advowson, or authority to select a rector, spread, until, with the final ending of proprietary governments at the Revolution, it became the general custom of the Church in all the states as they organized for diocesan life.

The right of the laity through the parish vestries to take part in

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¹For further study of this subject, general reference is here made to articles appearing in Volume VIII (September, 1939) of HISTORICAL MAGAZINE under the general heading, "The Development of the Church's Constitution," beginning on page 177: "Colonial Clergy Conventions," by Edgar Legare Pennington, S. T. D.; "The State or Diocesan Conventions," by Walter Herbert Stowe, S. T. D.; and "The Interstate Meetings and General Conventions of 1784, 1785, 1776 and 1789," by William Wilson Manross, Ph. D. Also, see the article, "The Origin of the Rights of the Laity in the American Episcopal Church," in HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, Vol. XII (1943), 313-338; and the article, "The Trail Blazer in the Expansion of the Anglican Communion," by Dr. Walter H. Stowe, in *The Historiographer*, Vol. I, No. 6 (Lent, 1946).

the legislation of the diocese and general Church grew naturally out of the powers of the vestry as the temporal head of the parish. The title to the real estate owned by the parish, including church, glebe lands and endowments, stood in the name of the churchwardens and vestry, and that group secured the funds from which the salary of the incumbent was paid, and the proper buildings erected and kept in repair. Dr. William White, when writing in 1782 his pamphlet suggesting a form of organization of the Anglican parishes in the United States,² recommended that the parishes should organize in small districts of several parishes, and above that three larger districts, in each of which there should be an assembly or convention of elected members, "equally composed of clergy and laity."³ This was written into the first "General Constitution of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America," adopted at the second meeting of the General Convention, held in June, 1786. It included the following paragraphs:⁴

II. There shall be a representation of both Clergy and Laity of the Church in each State, which shall consist of one or more Deputies, not exceeding four, of each order. . . .

III. In the said Church, in every State represented in this Convention, there shall be a Convention consisting of the Clergy and Lay Deputies of the congregations.

VI. The Bishop or Bishops in every State shall be chosen agreeably to such rules as shall be fixed by the Convention of that State. . . .

It will be seen, therefore, that the right of the laity in the government of the Church in parish, diocese and General Convention, grew out of the experiences of the Church itself, as its clergy and laity faced the conditions and problems of life in a new land, and attempted to adapt the Church to meet and to make the most of the conditions which were the outcome of a new and developing life.

But the right to select a priest to be consecrated bishop was an

²Dr. William White, later the first bishop of Pennsylvania, published his pamphlet, *The Case of the Episcopal Churches in the United States Considered*, in 1782, at a time when he could foresee no certainty, and little probability, of securing bishops from England for the Episcopal churches in America. He consequently recommended a temporary form of presbyterial organization to hold the parishes together until bishops could be secured. When later he learned of the consecration of Bishop Seabury by the bishops of the Scottish Episcopal Church, he withdrew his pamphlet from sale, as being no longer needed. But his pamphlet is of real historic value as showing the process of thought through which he and other leaders of the Anglican congregations were seeking to work out the problems which menaced their life.

³White, *op. cit.* (Philadelphia, 1937, reprint), chapter III, p. 10.

⁴*Journal of the General Convention of June, 1786.* (Perry's reprints, 1785-1821, pp. 40-42.)

entirely different matter, and one that did not come at all into the life of the Church of England in the American colonies. The only method known to the Church of England since the breach with Rome by King Henry VIII in 1534, whereby a man could be appointed a bishop, was the *congé d'élire*. This was a letter from the king, as temporal head of the Church, giving permission to the chapter of the Cathedral of X to elect the Rev. A. B. as bishop of their cathedral and diocese. During all that period, there was no such thing in the Church of England as a diocese selecting its own bishop.⁶

The very pertinent question must have been raised in the parishes of every American colony after the Declaration of Independence in 1776, as to whether bishops could be secured through consecration by Anglican bishops, and how a man was to be selected for consecration to that office. With no precedent in either England or America to go by, it is natural that different methods of selection should have been made use of in different states. The interesting fact appears that in the central states of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, the impetus toward diocesan organization came from a meeting of clergymen and laymen assembling as members of the Corporation for the Relief of Widows and Orphans of Clergymen, and developed naturally into diocesan conventions having both clerical and lay delegates. But in the three different states as divergent in churchmanship as Connecticut, Maryland and Virginia, the first movement towards organization of the Church and the election of bishops came from groups of clergymen alone. In Connecticut, it was a group of ten clergymen who selected Samuel Seabury and sent him to Great Britain to secure consecration as bishop. Eventually, as is well known, he was consecrated upon that choice alone.⁷ In Maryland, a meeting of clergymen held on August 13, 1783, elected the Rev. William Smith as their first bishop. This attempt of the clergy to organize a diocese by themselves was hotly resented by many

⁶In the Episcopal Church of Scotland, which began its corporate existence as a dissenting church after the accession of King William and Queen Mary to the throne of Scotland in 1789, bishops are chosen for their seven dioceses by the clergy of the diocese and by representatives of the lay communicants; a majority of both orders being necessary to a valid election. See the article, "The Church of Scotland," in *Chambers Encyclopedia*.

But because of the part taken by that Church in the two rebellions of the Scottish clans, in 1715 and 1745, against the Hanoverian kings of England, that Church was under a legal ban, and its members generally not permitted to assemble for worship. This law was not repealed until 1792. Because of its depressed condition, therefore, and its reputation for disloyalty to the reigning dynasty, it was of little influence, and hardly known in America.

⁷See "The Bishop Seabury Number" of the *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, Vol. III (1934), pp. 122-228, for a full account of the consecration and episcopate of Bishop Seabury.

influential laymen of that state,⁷ and the influence of the laity was so strong that when the Episcopal Church was finally organized in Maryland June 22, 1784, it provided for a convention composed of both clergy and lay delegates as its governing body.⁸

In Virginia the first movement of organization came from a meeting of clergymen held in June, 1784,⁹ who petitioned the General Assembly to complete the work of disestablishing the Church, and to repeal the laws which were serving to keep the Church helpless. They petitioned that the clergy of the Church in Virginia be made, by an act of incorporation, the governing body of the Church, "to regulate all the spiritual concerns of that church,—alter its form of worship, and institute such canons, by-laws and rules for the government and good order thereof as are suited to their religious principles."¹⁰

In response to this petition, the General Assembly did enact laws disestablishing the Church. It then enacted a law incorporating the "Protestant Episcopal Church of Virginia," but directed that the governing body of the Church should be a convention composed of two delegates elected by the vestry of each parish. If the parish had a rector, he must be one of the two elected delegates; but if there were no rector, the vestry might elect two lay delegates.¹¹ The Church in Virginia did organize under this act of incorporation in May, 1785, and at the convention of May, 1786, the Rev. David Griffith was elected to be the first bishop of Virginia.

When the General Convention met in October, 1786, the assurance was received that the archbishops in England would now be able to consecrate bishops for America without requiring an oath of allegiance to the British crown, and the further statement was made that they would consecrate such persons as might be recommended to them by the General Convention.¹² That Convention had before it for consideration four clergymen who had been elected for consecration as bishops by the conventions of four states. New York had elected the Rev. Samuel Provoost; Pennsylvania, the Rev. William White; and Virginia, the Rev. David Griffith. All three of these nominees had been elected

⁷See the letter of Governor William Paca, of Maryland, quoted in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, Vol. VIII, p. 233.

⁸*Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 236.

⁹This petition of the clergy of Virginia to the General Assembly is given in full in the sketch of the Rev. David Griffith in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, Vol. IX (1940), pp. 215-17.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 216.

¹¹The Act of incorporation of the Episcopal Church in Virginia is given in full in F. L. Hawks, *Virginia Volume of Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of the United States*, Appendix, pp. 1-3.

¹²See Dr. Manross' discussion of this Convention of October, 1786, in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, Vol. VIII, pp. 273-74.

at conventions in which lay delegates as well as clergymen had taken part. The fourth nominee was the Rev. William Smith, who had been elected by a group of clergymen in Maryland; but inasmuch as the Church in that state had in the following year been organized with a governing convention consisting of both clerical and lay delegates, his name was presented to the General Convention with at least the tacit consent of the Maryland convention.

As the result of the deliberations of the General Convention, testimonials of recommendation to the archbishops were given to Provoost, White and Griffith, as the three priests who were commended for consecration as the American episcopate.¹³

But with this summary of what actually happened, the main question still remains unconsidered. How was it that within three years after the final signing of the Treaty of Peace between England and the United States in September, 1783, the Episcopal Church in America had definitely settled upon a method of electing bishops by joint lay and clerical choice? That such a widely scattered and unorganized group of Anglican parishes, extending from Maine to Georgia, with no organization and no actual presence of a bishop among them for 175 years, should have found and followed the ancient precedent of the early Catholic Church, in adopting a method for the election of its bishops, is in itself a remarkable thing.

Perhaps the answer, as to who first suggested this method, may be found in a recently discovered letter by an unknown layman in Virginia published in the Hunter and Davis edition of the *Virginia Gazette* for April 24, 1778. Inasmuch as this layman, who doubtless was an attorney, based his argument upon Blackstone's *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, it seems quite probable that there were men learned in the law in other states also who were thinking along the same line: it would be interesting to learn if that were the case, and if articles or letters had been published elsewhere advocating this method. The letter and the pertinent sections from Blackstone are here given. As will be seen, the recommendation with which he ends his argument is in principle the law upon which the governing bodies of dioceses and the General Convention have been based from the beginning of the American Episcopal Church.

¹³Drs. White and Provoost were consecrated as bishops in the chapel of Lambeth Palace in London, on February 4, 1787. But Bishop-elect Griffin was prevented from going by the serious financial collapse of Virginia, and died in 1789. The Rev. James Madison, president of William and Mary College, was then elected by the convention of the Church in Virginia in May, 1790, and was consecrated in London on September 19, 1790, thereby making the third of the bishops of the English line, through whom, along with Bishop Seabury, of the line of the Scottish Church, the Anglican episcopate was given to America.

TO THE CLERGY AND LAITY OF THE CHURCH
FORMERLY ESTABLISHED IN VIRGINIA

Gentlemen :

The interests of religion and morality have induced me to offer you this short address. It is neither to plead the cause of exclusive establishments, nor to vilify any profession different from our own. The author is no friend to the former, and as to the latter, rational and moral conduct are the best criterions by which we may judge of their purity. The author is, however, a friend to those forms of church government which have the sanction of the holy scriptures. It is for this reason he could wish to see that society of Christians rescued from a total extinction which has episcopal ordination as its basis, and which has adopted a *MODE* of public worship not only the most decent, but the most rational and useful.

The Christian religion, considered both in a moral and political point of view, deserves the attention of all parties in every state. But as uniformity of sentiment is a chimera of the brain alone, it becomes the duty of each to endeavour to maintain that form which they think most useful and agreeable to themselves, most likely to preserve order and decency in their public worship, and most promotive of learning and morality, as far as such endeavours do not interfere with the civil rights of others.

But how will this be effected with us unless some mode be adopted for a continuance of ordination? Circumstances unavoidable must soon leave us without proper or desirable persons for the performance of the duties of a Clergyman. It is neither the interest of society or of religion that such duties should be attempted by the illiterate, much less by the immoral. Daily experience convinces us that miracles are no longer the attendants of that profession. Confusion, ignorance, and intolerable absurdities, may amuse the vulgar for a while, but the mind soon revolts against them; it wishes to see regularity, order, and good sense assume their deserved rank.

But if a continuance of ordination could effect so valuable an end, how is it to be obtained? Here is the difficulty. But does it arise from the real nature of the case, or from that aversion which the mind has to anything novel in matters of so serious and important a nature? Custom and ancient usages too often usurp the place of justice. But this is the age to attack usurpation over the just rights of mankind in every instance. The attention of tyranny, or regal power, is never confined to one object. Perhaps we shall be able to prove that episcopacy, as established in England at present, is one of the many encroachments of this power upon the just rights of the people, and that a *free election* to that office was not only the most ancient usage of that country, but also the true apostolic mode.

As this is an address to those alone who are already con-

vinced that episcopacy is an institution warranted by the holy scriptures, it is my design only to show that the office is altogether dependent upon a *free election* of the Clergy and people. If this can be shown, I doubt not but it will be readily admitted that we may, as a tolerated society, not only maintain our existence, but upon principles much purer, and more Christian, than formerly.

The learned Blackstone, in his commentaries, book I, chapter II, informs us, "that *election* was, in *very early times*, the usual mode of elevation to the episcopal chair throughout all Christendom, and that (says he) was promiscuously performed by the laity, as well as by the clergy"; for which he cites very ample authorities. But afterwards a complaint of tumultuous elections, together with the supposed royal prerogative of granting the investitures of temporalities, served the designs of Emperors and Kings as a pretence to invade the freedom of election, and the same pretence of tumult proved equally favourable to the opposite designs of Popes; so that their jarring interests seemed, however, united in their endeavours to deprive the church of her ancient right; and therefore "the policy of the court of Rome at the same time began by degrees to exclude the *laity* from any share in these elections, and to confine them, (says our learned judge), wholly to the clergy, which at length was completely effected."

It appears, Mr. Sharpe informs us, that the Saxon, or English church, though much less ancient than the British, Irish, and Scotch churches, did enjoy the privilege of *electing Bishops*. The monk, Matthew Paris has transmitted to us a memorable example of this in his account of the election, A. D. 1095, of the celebrated Ulstan: "Processu autem temporis Ulstanus, unanimi Consensu, tam *Cleri* quam *totius plebis*, in Episcopum *eligitur*." And even in later times, when the *Romish corruptions* had so far prevailed as to exclude the laity from elections, yet the Clergy still enjoyed the free right of electing their Prelates, whether Abbots or Bishops; for the learned judge informs us that this right was granted, in a charter, "to all the monasteries and cathedrals in the kingdom of King John, (?)" and also that this grant was expressly recognized and confirmed by King John's *magna charta*, and was again established by statute 25, Edward III. This statute, says Mr. Sharpe, first gave parliamentary authority, indeed, to the King's *congé d'elire*,¹⁴ (though it was in use long before). The right of election was also fully established by preceding statutes, still in force, though, unhappily for this kingdom, continues Mr. Sharpe, not in use, as "there shall be free elections of dignities in the church." 9 Edward II, chap. 14. And again; *elections ought to be free*, 3 Edward I, chap. 5.

Thus, as it may be clearly proved that the churches of

¹⁴The author of this letter constantly used the old French spelling, *congé d'estire*, which the copyist has changed into the modern French form.

Britain and Ireland have a just and ancient right to elect their Bishops, and did actually exert that right for many ages, till the usurpations of Monks and Popes over the parochial Clergy occasioned the interference of Kings, so it is not less evident that the present mode of election by *congé d'elire* (agreeable to the act 25, Henry VIII), is a total perversion of that just and ancient right above mentioned. This practice, however, cannot be censured in stronger terms than those in which it is expressly condemned by a subsequent act of parliament (1 Edward VI, chap. 11) though the former act is supposed to be still in force, viz.: "The said elections be in very deed, *no elections*, but only by a writ of *congé d'elire*, have colours, shadows, and pretences of elections, serving nevertheless, to no purpose," &c.

But it is of more concern to us to consider what was the primitive apostolic mode of filling that office. The primitive election mentioned in Acts I. 14 to 26, was not only the election of an Apostle, but also of a Bishop, the office or charge of a Bishop being apparently included in the apostolic dignity. For though Matthias, (says the learned Sharpe), on whom the lot fell, was immediately "numbered among the eleven Apostles," yet the vacant charge to which he was elected was unquestionably an episcopal charge. The expression of the Holy Ghost in the prophecy of the psalmist (psalm cix, 8, "let another take his office") proves that the said office was of that nature, for the Hebrew word commonly rendered *his office*, the same author continues, properly signifies a *visitatorial* office, which expression, by the ancient authors of the septuagint version, as well as the *Apostle Peter*, was conceived to be of the same general import as an office of *superintendency*, and therefore they called it an *Episcopate*. "Let another take his *Episcopate*, or Bishoprick." Matthias, therefore, and the other Apostles, were properly *Episcopoi*, or Bishops; and the *right of nomination* to the vacant charge was not then confined to the Apostles alone (as Dr. Hammond, without authority of scripture, has asserted), but an appeal was made to the sense of the whole congregation, or crowd of 120 persons, then present, by the Apostle Peter, and THEY accordingly *appointed two*, and afterwards, joining in solemn prayer, submitted the decision, or final election, by lot, to the providence of God. The very learned and judicious Erasmus was of the same opinion respecting the appointment of *two* persons by the congregation, or the 120 *Disciples*: "Haec oratio," says he, "quum placuisset *multitudini*, statuerunt duos," speaking of Peter's address to the people. And a little afterwards he gives a commendation of that primitive example.

Thus, I think, I have clearly shewn, from the Acts, that the appointment to the office of Bishop was by the voice of Clergy and laity. What we have said concerning the most ancient custom of the church confirms this opinion.

I must beg leave to subjoin one argument more to shew the necessity of preserving the existence of that religious party of the state which has hitherto gone under the denomination of the church of England. It is an argument which equally affects the good citizen, whether he be attached to Presbyterianism, to Episcopacy, or whether he be equally indifferent to every species of religious worship. Establishments are on all hands confessed to be inconsistent with a free government. It is therefore necessary, to prevent their taking place, that no particular sect, like Aaron's serpent, should swallow up the rest. It is, rather absolutely necessary that, if possible, a proper equilibrium should be maintained between all parties. Policy would contemplate them as suspended upon a lever, the fulcrum of which, is the General Assembly, whose great object should be to maintain a proper equipoise. The depression of one must necessarily produce the exaltation of the other.

It now only remains that a proper method should be proposed which would be the most likely to procure the end in view. I wish indeed this could come from a more able counsellor than I can pretend to be. There can, however, be no impropriety in proposing a convention of laity and Clergy for this purpose. Two laymen and one clergyman from each parish, delegated by the people, might form such a convention, wherein they might determine whatever would be most effectual to preserve the existence of their religious society; and what time can there be more favourable for their design than the ensuing Assembly? A meeting of the Clergy is expected on the 16th of May. Let this be as full as possible, and there will be little doubt but that they will find all men of sense and worth ready to succour their pious endeavours.

I am, I trust, with all sincerity,

A FRIEND TO EQUAL LIBERTY.

The pertinent sections of Blackstone's *Commentaries*, to which this writer referred, are the following:¹³

EXTRACTS FROM

Commentaries on the Laws of England, by Sir William Blackstone (12 ed., by Edward Christian, London, 1793).

[NOTE: The footnotes below are in Blackstone's text.]

BOOK I, CHAPTER 11, PP. 377-380:

I. An arch-bishop or bishop is elected by the chapter of his cathedral church, by virtue of a licence from the crown. Election was, in very early times, the usual mode of elevation to the episcopal chair throughout

¹³I desire to express my thanks to Mr. Henry R. Miller, Jr., of Richmond, who copied for me the extracts from Blackstone.

all christendom; and this was promiscuously performed by the laity as well as the clergy^h; till at length it becoming tumultuous, the emperors and other sovereigns of the respective kingdoms of Europe took the appointment in some degree into their own hands; by reserving to themselves the right of confirming these elections, and of granting investiture of the temporalities, which now began almost universally to be annexed to this spiritual dignity; without which confirmation and investiture, the elected bishop could neither be consecrated nor receive any secular profits. This right was acknowledged in the emperor Charlemagne, *A. D.* 773, by pope Hadrian I, and the council of Lateranⁱ, and universally exercised by other christian princes: but the policy of the court of Rome at the same time began by degrees to exclude the laity from any share in these elections, and to confine them wholly to the clergy, which at length was completely effected; the mere form of election appearing to the people to be a thing of little consequence, while the crown was in possession of an absolute negative, which was almost equivalent to a direct right of nomination. Hence the right of appointing to bishopricks is said to have been in the crown of England^k (as well as other kingdoms in Europe) even in Saxon times; because the rights of confirmation and investiture were in effect (though not in form), a right of complete donation.^l But when, by length of time, the custom of making elections by the clergy only was fully established, ing to the prelate a ring, and pastoral staff or crosier; pretending, that this was an encroachment on the church's authority, and an attempt by these symbols to confer a spiritual jurisdiction: and pope Gregory VII, towards the close of the eleventh century, published a bulle of excommunication against all princes who should dare to confer investitures, and all prelates who should venture to receive them.^m This was a bold step towards effecting the plan then adopted by the Roman see, of rendering the clergy entirely independent of the civil authority; and long and eager were the contests occasioned by this papal claim. But at length, when the emperor Henry V agreed to remove all suspicion of encroachment on the spiritual character, by conferring investitures for the future *per sceptrum* and not *per annulum et baculum*; and when the kings of England and France consented also to alter the form in their kingdoms, and receive only homage from the bishops of their temporalities, instead of investing them by the ring and crosier; the

^h*Per clerum et populum.* Palm. 25. 2 Roll, Rep. 102. M. Paris. A. D. 1095.

ⁱDecret. I dist. 63, c. 22.

^kPalm. 28.

^l"Nulla electio praelatorum (sunt verba Ingulphi) erat more libera et canonica; sed omnes dignitates tam episcoporum, quam abbatum, per annulum et baculum regis curia pro sua complacentia conferebat." *Penes clericos et monachos fuit electio, sei electum a rege postulabant.* Selden. *Inn. Ang.* L. 1, Sect. 39.

^mDecret. 2 caus. 16 qu. 7. c. 12 & 13.

court of Rome found it prudent to suspend for a while its other pretensions.ⁿ

This concession was obtained from king Henry the first in England, by means of that obstinate and arrogant prelate, arch-bishop Anselm^o: but king John (about a century afterwards) in order to obtain the protection of the pope against his discontented barons, was also prevailed upon to give up by a charter, to all the monasteries and cathedrals in the kingdom, the free right of electing their prelates, whether abbots or bishops: reserving only to the crown the custody of the temporalities during the vacancy; the form of granting a licence to elect, (which is the original of our *congé d'elire*) on refusal whereof the electors might proceed without it; and the right of approbation afterwards, which was not to be denied without a reasonable and lawful cause.^p

This grant was expressly recognized and confirmed in king John's *magna carta*,^q and was again established by statute 25 Edw. III. st. 6. sect. 3.

But by statute 25 Hen. VIII. c. 20. the antient right of nomination was, in effect, restored to the crown^r: it being enacted that, at every future avoidance of a bishopric, the king may send the dean and chapter his usual license to proceed to election; which is always to be accompanied with a letter missive from the king, containing the name of the person whom he would have them elect: and, if the dean and chapter delay their election above twelve days, the nomination shall devolve to the king, who may by letters patent appoint such person as he pleases. This election or nomination, if it be of a bishop, must be signified by the king's letters patent to the arch-bishop of the province; if it be of an arch-bishop, to the other arch-bishop and two bishops, or to four bishops; requiring them to confirm, invest and consecrate the person so elected: which they are bound to perform immediately, without any application to the see of Rome. After which the bishop elect shall sue to the king for his temporalities, shall make oath to the king

ⁿMod. Un. Hist. XXV. 363. XXIX. 115.

^oM. Paris. A. D. 1107.

^pM. Paris. A. D. 1214. I. Rym. Foed., 198.

^qCap. I. edit. Oxon. 1759.

^rThis statute was afterward repealed by 1 Edw. VI. c. 2, which enacted that all bishopricks should be donative as formerly. It states in the preamble that these elections are in very deed no elections; but only by a writ of *congé d'elire* have colours, shadows, or pretences of elections. 1 Burn, Ec. L. 183. This is certainly good sense. For the permission to elect where there is no power to reject can hardly be reconciled with the freedom of election.* But this statute was afterwards repealed by 1. Ma. St. 2. c. 20. and other statutes, 12 Co. 7. But the bishopricks of the new foundation were always donative. Harg. Co. Litt. 134. As also are all the Irish bishopricks by 2 Eliz. c. 4. *Irish Statutes*.

*See Dr. Johnson's strong illustration of a *congé d'elire*, 4 Bosw. 246. Ed. 12mo., 1819.

and none other, and shall take restitution of his secular possessions out of the king's hands only.⁸ And if such dean and chapter do not elect in the manner by this act appointed, or if such arch-bishop or bishop do refuse to confirm, invest, and consecrate such bishop elect, they shall incur all the penalties of a *praemunire*.⁹

Ibid., BOOK IV, P. 107:

The very nomination to bishopricks, that antient prerogative of the crown, was wrested from king Henry the first, and afterwards from his successor, king John; and seemingly indeed conferred on the chapters belonging to each see: but by means of the frequent appeals to Rome, through the intricacy of the laws which regulated canonical elections, was eventually vested in the pope. And, to sum up this head with a transaction most unparalleled and astonishing in its kind, pope Innocent III had at length the effrontery to demand, and king John had the meanness to consent to, a resignation of his crown to the pope, whereby England was to become forever St. Peter's patrimony; and the dastardly monarch re-accepted his sceptre from the hands of the papal legate, to hold as the vassal of the holy see, at the annual rent of a thousand marks.

Ibid., BOOK IV, P. 429:


IV. This brings us to the fourth period of our legal history, viz. the reformation of religion, under Henry the eighth, and his children; which opens an entirely new scene in ecclesiastical matters; the usurped power of the pope being now for ever routed and destroyed, all his connexions with this island cut off, the crown restored to its supremacy over spiritual men and causes, and the patronage of bishopricks being once more indisputably vested in the king. And, had the spiritual courts been at this time re-united to the civil, we should have seen the old Saxon constitution with regard to *ecclesiastical* polity completely restored.

⁸It is a prevailing vulgar error, that, when a bishop has an offer made of a bishoprick, he affects a maiden coyness and answers *nolo episcopari*. The origin of these words and this notion I have not been able to discover; the bishops certainly give no such refusal at present, and I am inclined to think they never did at any time in this country.

⁹It is directed in the form of consecrating bishops, confirmed by various statutes since the reformation, that a bishop when consecrated must be full thirty years of age. There seems to have been no restriction of this kind in antient times; for Bishop Godwin informs us, that George Nevile, the brother of the Earl of Warwick, the king-maker, was chancellor of Oxford, *et in episcopum Exoniensem consecratus est anno 1455, nondum annos natus viginti. Anno deinde 1460 (id quod jure mirere) summus Angliæ factus est cancellarius*. A few years afterwards he was translated to the arch-bishoprick of York . . . Godw. Comm. de Praeful. 693.

EDMUND IBBOTSON (1831-1914): S. P. G. MISSIONARY
TO HAWAII, (1862-1866)*

By Andrew Forest Muir†

S early as 1793, the king of the Hawaiian Islands asked a mission from the Church of England, and this request his successor repeated in 1824.¹ Beginning in 1838, the English residents in Honolulu made several appeals to the English Church and government for the same object, but their attempts were as futile as those of the sovereigns. It was not until 1860 that the English Church became interested enough to send out a mission. Five persons were chiefly responsible for this decision; these were King Kamehameha IV, Queen Emma, Dr. Samuel Wilberforce, Robert Crichton Wyllie, and Manley Hopkins. Of the five, Wyllie, minister of foreign relations of the kingdom of Hawaii, may well be considered the father of the Hawaiian Reformed Catholic Church, under which name the English mission, when established, was incorporated.

Born and bred a Scotch Presbyterian,² Wyllie seems early to have embraced Anglicanism, although—a sad commentary on the state of the Church of England in his youth—he was not confirmed until the arrival of the English mission at Honolulu in 1862. As a youth in Great Britain, he dallied with the idea of studying for the priesthood,³ but instead he prepared himself in medicine and later branched into commerce and diplomacy. After 1850 his health became uncertain, and he thought more and more about religion; at one time, believing himself at the point of death and having no Anglican priest to whom he might turn, he toyed with the notion of embracing Roman Catholicism.⁴ During

*For the earlier history of "The Church in Hawaii, 1778-1862," by Dr. Muir, see *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, Vol. XVIII (1948), pp. 31-65.

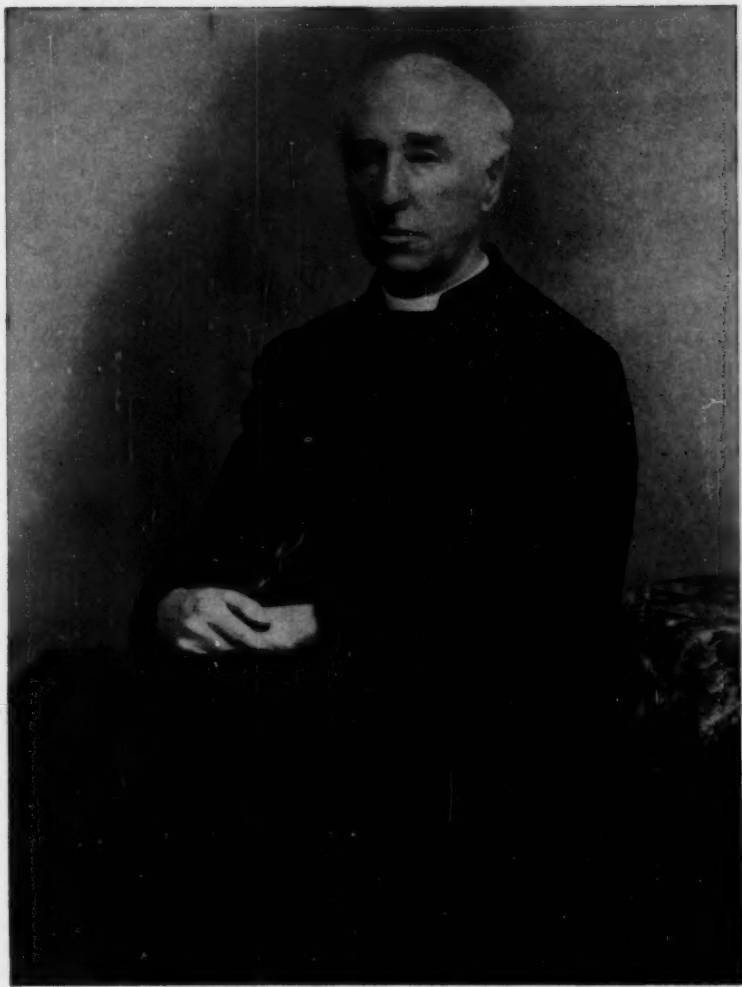
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¹Although there is little contemporary evidence of these two requests, Kamehameha IV, who was well acquainted with the tradition of his ancestors, accepted them as facts. [W. W. Follett Synge to secretary of state for foreign affairs, Honolulu, October 14, 1862, in F. O. (MSS. in Public Record Office, London), 331/8.]

²Wyllie to Sir John Bowring, Honolulu, November 11, 1851, in Miscellaneous Foreign MSS. in Archives of Hawaii, Honolulu).

³*Hawaiian Gazette* (Honolulu), I (November 11, 1865), 172b.

⁴Ralph S. Kuykendall, "Introduction of the Episcopal Church into the Hawaiian Islands" in *Pacific Historical Review*, XV (June, 1946), 134.



THE REVEREND EDMUND IBBOTSON
1831-1914

S. P. G. Missionary to Hawaii
1862-1866



the long period of his illness, he seems to have pursued a rigorous course of reading on the Anglican Church, and by some means, perhaps upon the recommendation of Manley Hopkins, the Hawaiian consul general and chargé d'affaires in London, he became acquainted with the writings of those who maintained the catholicity of the Church and was thus attracted to anglo-catholicism.⁵ Wyllie probably supplied anglo-catholic books to King Kamehameha IV, whose mind likewise had been turned to religion by the death from consumption of a man whom he, while under the influence of alcohol, had shot in the chest.⁶ As a lad, Kamehameha had attended Anglican services in San Francisco, London, and Paris,⁷ but it was not until he married Emma that he became particularly interested in the Church. Emma, whose ancestry was a quarter English, had been reared by an Anglican uncle, Dr. Thomas Charles Hyde Rooke, and her education had been completed under an Anglican governess, Mrs. Sarah Uttin Von Pfister. Soon after his marriage, apparently as a result of the joint efforts of Wyllie and the queen, the king became acquainted with a number of books which stated the anglo-catholic position, among them Pierre François le Courayer, *A Dissertation on the Validity of the Ordinations of the English and of the Succession of the Bishops of the Anglican Church* (1723, new edition 1844); William Palmer, *Treatise on the Church of Christ* (1833); Arthur Philip Perceval, *An Apology for the Doctrine of Apostolical Succession* (1839); and Charles Wheatly, *The Church of England Man's Companion, or a Rational Illustration of the Harmony . . . and Usefulness of the Book of Common Prayer* (1710, new edition 1858).⁸ As a result of his acquaintance with these and other books and of the frame of his mind following his misadventure, the king became settled in his religious convictions and desired the immediate establishment of an Anglican Church in Hawaii.

In 1859, Kamehameha, through Wyllie, commanded Manley Hopkins to exert his offices in procuring a priest for Honolulu. Hopkins, an average adjuster, but withal a man of letters and of imagination, whose merit has been eclipsed by that of his son, the Jesuit poet, Gerard Manley Hopkins, bestirred himself in order to comply with the king's command.

⁵For example, in 1857, he obtained a copy of Anna Jameson, *Sisters of Charity, Catholic and Protestant, Abroad and at Home* (London: Longman, Brown, Green & Longman, 1855). This book, which he apparently gave to Queen Emma, is now in the Queen Emma House Museum, Honolulu. Wyllie knew and corresponded with Francis Lyne, the father of Father Ignatius of Jesus, O. S. B., but the elder Lyne was no anglo-catholic.

⁶Kuykendall, *op. cit.*, 134-35.

⁷Alexander Liholiho's *Private Journal, 1849 [-1850]* (MS. in Hawaiian Historical Society, Honolulu), October 29, 1849, February 10, March 3, 17, April 21, 1850.

⁸Letter of the Rt. Rev. Thomas Nettleship Staley in *Mission Field*, 1864, p. 68.

An anglo-catholic himself, he entered into negotiations with men prominent in the catholic revival, among them Dr. Samuel Wilberforce, bishop of Oxford; Lord Robert Cecil, who, under the title of marquess of Salisbury, later served as prime minister; Cecil's brother-in-law, Alexander James Beresford Hope; and John Gellibrand Hubbard, later Baron Addington. Dr. Wilberforce, who was a zealous supporter of Church extension, suggested that a bishop and a staff of priests be sent to the Islands, and his suggestion was obviously welcomed by Kamehameha. Two years passed before the Church and government of England gave their consent to the scheme, but at last, on December 15, 1861, an anglo-catholic schoolmaster, the Rev. Thomas Nettleship Staley, was consecrated as first bishop of Honolulu. For his staff, toward whose support the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts made a grant, he recruited three priests, all of them closely identified with anglo-catholicism. Among these was the Rev. Edmund Ibbotson, one of the unsung heroes of the catholic revival.

One of three children of Henry Bradley and Caroline Ibbotson, Fr. Ibbotson was born in Otham, Kent, England, on November 13, 1831,⁹ and thirty-six days later he was carried to the parish church and christened.¹⁰ Thus began a lifelong service to the Church which ended only with his death eighty-two years later. Of his childhood and youth, nothing is available. Seemingly, however, he received a sound education. It is obvious that by some means he came under the inspiration of the catholic revival, and it is known that he had a good tenor voice which he cultivated. For a while he served as a sailor, but whether in the royal navy or the merchant marine is not now known.¹¹ Discovering in himself a vocation to the sacred priesthood, he entered Cuddesdon College, near Oxford, where he completed his theological training in 1857. He was made deacon by Dr. Wilberforce on June 19, 1859,¹² and ordained priest by the Rt. Hon. Henry Montagu Villiers, bishop of Durham, on September 23, 1860.¹³ His first charge was at Morpeth, Northumberland, where he served as curate from 1859 to 1862.¹⁴ The

⁹C. F. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G.* . . . (London: Published at the Society's Office, 1901), 912.

¹⁰Baptismal Register of Otham Parish. Courtesy of the Rev. C. T. Spurling, rector, April 17, 1947.

¹¹E[rmest]. B[laxland]. C[larabut], "Edmund Ibbotson, Priest," in *Church Times*, LXXI (January 9, 1914), 566c. Fr. Clarabut died May 23, 1950, at the age of ninety-one.

¹²The Rt. Rev. Gerald Burton Allen, bishop of Dorchester, to the Rev. Ernest Blaxland Clarabut, July 19, 1947. Courtesy of Fr. Clarabut, of Lostwithiel, Cornwall.

¹³Henry Cecil Ferens to Fr. Clarabut, July 25, 1947. Courtesy of Fr. Clarabut.

¹⁴*Crockford's Clerical Directory for 1896* . . . (London: Published by Horace Cox, 1896), 698; the Rev. S. Baker, rector of Morpeth, to writer, August 31, 1947.

rector of Morpeth at the time was the Rev. the Hon. Francis Richard Grey, who some years later joined Dr. Pusey and others in signing a "Declaration on Confession and Absolution, as Set forth by the Church of England."¹⁵

When John Gellibrand Hubbard elected the Rev. Alexander Heriot Mackonochie as vicar of the Church of St. Alban the Martyr, Holborn, London, Fr. Ibbotson was asked to become curate. Fr. Mackonochie and he entered upon residence in the district on Thursday of Easter Week, April 24, 1862. The fabric of the great church, destroyed by enemy action during World War II, was completed, but it was not yet furnished. The two priests, therefore, held services in a hired second-story room in Baldwin's Gardens, although they lived in the clergy house. They fitted up their second-story room with several dozen rush bottom chairs and a baize covered table on which they placed their devotional books. They then went forth into the frightful slums of Holborn in search of a congregation. As a result of assiduous visiting, they accumulated a sufficient number of interested persons to hold their first service on May 11, 1862. Were there any who dreaded the "advanced ritualistic" tendencies of Frs. Mackonochie and Ibbotson, these first mission services would have been sufficient to dissipate their fears. Neither of the priests wore cassock or surplice, and the services included no more than a hymn, a few collects read by Fr. Ibbotson, and an informal address by Fr. Mackonochie, who walked up and down the room as he spoke.

Nevertheless, there were many interruptions. Disgruntled spectators stamped out of the services and, often, on their way down, tossed into the room the candle which illuminated the dark stairs. Little boys amused themselves by throwing against the windows shelled snails which they purchased from the priests' landlord, who operated a fish market beneath their room. The two priests were able to bear with these disturbances, but there was one trial they had not expected and with which they were utterly unable to cope, an invasion of bedbugs; the hired room proved to be abounding with the pests. For a while the two valiantly struggled against the enemy. Every night, after service, they stood on the porch of their new clergy house and picked the insects off each other, hoping thereby to prevent contamination of their quarters. Had any protestant agitators observed this nocturnal per-

¹⁵[Arthur J. Butler,] *Life and Letters of William John Butler, Late Dean of Lincoln and Sometime Vicar of Wantage* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1898), 184-88. In 1867, Fr. Grey was deprived of the office of rural dean by the Hon. Charles Baring, bishop of Durham, "for the offence of wearing a black stole with three gold crosses embroidered on it, and for using the Invocation before the sermon." [Sabine Baring-Gould, *The Church Revival, Thoughts Thereon and Reminiscences* (London: Methuen & Co., 1914), 180-81.]

formance, they might have suspected it as some new ritualistic trick. The congregation was intimidated by the bugs, and there was but one solution, to move elsewhere. Another room, this one in a cellar beneath a printing office, was rented, and after the chairs had been treated with sulphur fumes in the coal cellar of the unfurnished church, services were begun in the new room. Here the priests erected an altar and began the use of cassock and surplice. Fr. Mackonochie declined to introduce eucharistic vestments until he had obtained complete sets of each liturgical color.¹⁶ In later life, Fr. Ibbotson was fond of recalling his association with Dr. Mackonochie in establishing St. Alban's.¹⁷

Probably through Hubbard, a member of the Polynesian Church Committee which was then engaged in obtaining assistance for Dr. Staley, Fr. Ibbotson became interested in the Honolulu mission. His association with Fr. Mackonochie, however, made him suspect, and the committee of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel quizzed him before it committed themselves to his support.¹⁸ Accepted by both Dr. Staley and the Society, Fr. Ibbotson, on August 16, 1862, bade farewell to Holborn and Fr. Mackonochie, who placed in his hands as he left a copy of a well-worn diurnal.¹⁹ On the following day, Dr. Staley, the Rev. George Mason, Fr. Ibbotson, and an assortment of wives, children, and governesses left Southampton, and, after a long voyage across the Atlantic and through the Gulf of Mexico, overland across the Isthmus of Panama, and by ship again to San Francisco, embarked for Honolulu at last aboard the sailing ship *Comet* on September 26. The passage across the Pacific was rough, and a number of the party, including Fr. Ibbotson, was ill.²⁰ On the morning of October 11, the three men, without previous arrangement, got out of bed before sunrise and stood at the rail as the ship passed around Diamond Head and into Honolulu Harbor,²¹ doubtlessly contemplating the work which lay be-

¹⁶Edmund Ibbotson, *A Brief History Concerning the Very Earliest Days of Father Mackonochie's Work in the Parish of St. Alban, Holborn, from Easter Week to August 16, 1862, Never Before Written* (London: W. Knott, 1908), 19 pp. Courtesy of the Rev. Rowland Taylor, of St. Alban's. There is but one reference to Fr. Ibbotson in the standard history of the parish, that in a list of clergy who served the church. [George W. E. Russell, *Saint Alban the Martyr, Holborn, a History of Fifty Years* (Milwaukee: The Young Churchman Company, 1913), 325.]

¹⁷The Rt. Rev. Horace Henry Dixon, assistant bishop of Brisbane, to writer, May 15, 1947.

¹⁸See below, letter of July 9, 1864.

¹⁹Ibbotson, *Brief History*, 18.

²⁰Extracts from a *Journal of the Bishop of Honolulu, September to November, 1862* (London: Printed for the S. P. G., 1863), 2. This publication is No. 4 of the series, *Missions to the Heathen*.

²¹Letter of the Rev. George Mason in "Hawaiian Mission" in *Net*, I (February 1, 1866), 21.

fore them. The missionaries were cordially received by Wyllie and others, and on October 20 they were formally presented at court, in mourning for the heir apparent who had died but a few weeks before.²²

Dr. Staley began work at once in Honolulu and a short time later at Lahaina, the first and second cities of the kingdom, and both stations flourished, not, however, without opposition. Other religious bodies had not been so slow as the Church in establishing missions in the Islands, and some of them viewed Hawaii as their peculiar province. In 1820, New England Congregationalists founded a mission which grew remarkably, although its success was somewhat limited by the rigorous and narrow puritanism, already moribund in New England, which the missionaries accepted and tried to inculcate in the Hawaiian natives. A French Roman Catholic mission, after much opposition and the use of a French warship, was founded in 1839, and Mormonism was planted somewhat later.

Some of the Congregationalists, without waiting for any provocation other than Dr. Staley's arrival, began an immediate attack upon the Church and its purpose in establishing a branch in the Islands.²³ They found a strong ally in the rash editor of the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* who weekly presented as facts his own imaginative inferences.²⁴ The complaints against the Church were four, one real and three specious, two of the latter conflicting: (1) the Church taught the doctrines of baptismal regeneration, apostolic succession, confirmation, sacerdotal confession, all contrary to the tenets of puritanism; (2) in declining to fraternize with the Congregationalists, Dr. Staley and his clergy were refusing to acknowledge them as ministers of the Gospel; (3) the Hawaiian Church was not a part of the Church of England but a sect of Puseyites; and (4) the Church was sent with the avowed political mission of undermining the autonomy of the Hawaiian Kingdom so that Great Britain could snatch it as a colony. Not content with flooding Hawaii with their grievances, they enlisted the aid of two vocal champions, one in England and the other in America. William Ellis, a Congregational minister who had spent some time in Hawaii shortly after the establishment of the Congregational mission and who had done his best to meddle in the king's request to the Church of England

²²*Extracts from a Journal*, 10.

²³Three days after the arrival of the Mission, the British Commissioner wrote, "They will no doubt meet with much opposition from the American Missionaries who are already preaching against them in the country [churches?] of the Islands." [Synge to secretary of state for foreign affairs, October 14, 1862.]

²⁴The editor was Henry M. Whitney (June 5, 1824-August 17, 1904.)

in order to insure the sending of a priest of low church opinions, stirred up dissenter and low church opposition in England,²⁵ and Rufus Anderson, secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, at Boston, did the same in the United States.²⁶ A little later a priest, who might be considered one of the founders of the regrettable Reformed Episcopal Church, visited Hawaii, and, although he met not a single member of the Anglican mission, he returned to the United States and launched an angry attack upon Dr. Staley, an attack which found favor with many American churchmen, some of whom shortly abandoned the Church.²⁷ For the most part, the Roman Catholics kept aloof from the controversy, but they did reprint a criticism of Anglican orders from John Fletcher's *Comparative View of the Grounds of the Catholic and Protestant Churches* (London, 1826),²⁸ which, however, Fr. Mason promptly and ably answered in a pamphlet.²⁹

In Honolulu, Dr. Staley rented the chapel of a defunct Methodist congregation and, by building an addition to it and erecting an altar, converted it into his temporary cathedral. Here the first Eucharist was offered on Sunday, October 12, and on the following Sunday was begun the daily Eucharist.³⁰ The use of white cambric eucharistic vestments was initiated at once,³¹ and, in addition, Dr. Staley wore cope and mitre on pontifical occasions.³² Very shortly after the arrival of the mission,

²⁵W. Ellis, *The American Mission in the Sandwich Islands: a Vindication and an Appeal, in Relation to the Proceedings of the Reformed Catholic Mission at Honolulu* (London: Jackson, Walford, and Hodder, 1866). This was reprinted in the same year at Honolulu by Whitney.

²⁶Rufus Anderson, *The Hawaiian Islands, their Progress and Condition under Missionary Labors* (Boston: Gould and Lincoln, 1864) 331-59.

²⁷This was the Rev. Franklin Samuel Rising, author of *Are There Romanizing Germs in the Prayer Book?* It was he, apparently, who inspired the scurrilous attack upon Dr. Staley and the Church made by Mark Twain. [G. Ezra Dane (ed.), *Letters from the Sandwich Islands Written for the Sacramento Union by Mark Twain* (Stanford University: Stanford University Press, c. 1938), 50-51, 114-20.]

²⁸*The Ordinations of the Church of England* (Honolulu: Printed at the [Roman] Catholic Mission, 1865), 22 pp.

²⁹*A Vindication of the Orders of the Ancient Catholic Church of England, Against the Objections of one Dr. Fletcher* (Honolulu: Printed at the Hawaiian Gazette Office, 1865), 37 pp. Fr. Scott, who had published an apology for Anglican orders, had retired from the mission in 1864. William Richard Scott, *Apostolical Succession and Canon LV, a Reply to the Rev. W. Goode's Tract, with Historical Proofs that Episcopacy Is a Divine Institution* . . . (London, 1852).

³⁰*Extracts from a Journal*, 9.

³¹Dr. Staley to W. T. Bullock, Kensington, undated, in Letters Received from Australia, New Zealand, etc., 1865-1874 (MSS. in Archives of Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, London), Honolulu, No. 17.

³²Letter of Viator, December 1, 1862, in *Polynesian* (Honolulu), December 6, 1862, 2c.

Dr. Staley baptized the queen,³³ and a few weeks later he confirmed both the king and queen, as well as three officers of the government.³⁴ For more than a year, two priests, Frs. Mason and Ibbotson, ministered at the cathedral, and they were kept busy with reading the daily offices, celebrating the Holy Communion, baptizing converts, preparing candidates for confirmation, doing parish visiting, preaching numerous sermons, and hearing confessions—for they encouraged the use of the sacrament of penance.³⁵ The piety and devotion of the king and queen set an excellent example for the Hawaiian natives, and many of them embraced the sacraments. In addition, American and British residents in the Islands welcomed the opportunity of worshipping in the Church of their youth. Although the ceremony used in the services differed from that standard of studied indifference generally regarded as proof of Anglican orthodoxy, the Hawaiians liked it, and the foreigners accepted it. It was not until Ellis, Anderson, and Rising had circulated their propaganda abroad that there was in Honolulu any antagonism to "ritualism."

During the long passage from England, Dr. Staley and his priests assiduously studied the Hawaiian language,³⁶ and immediately upon arrival in Honolulu, they retained the services of a tutor. Both Dr. Staley and Fr. Mason studied with David Kalakaua,³⁷ who, under the name of Kalakaua, reigned as king from 1874 to 1891, and probably Fr. Ibbotson did likewise. So rapidly did the three of them learn the language that, on November 9, they conducted the service for the first time in Hawaiians, and on this occasion Dr. Staley commented upon the excellence of Fr. Ibbotson's pronunciation.³⁸

In addition to carrying a share of the cathedral services, at times the bulk of them, Fr. Ibbotson had the responsibility for the music. For this he was peculiarly prepared, having a considerable knowledge of music and especially of organ construction. Aside from playing skilfully, he was able to assemble and to repair an organ.³⁹ The Hawaiian Church was always amply supplied with hymnals. Before Dr. Staley left England, he authorized the use of *Hymns, Ancient and Modern*, then but

³³*Extracts from a Journal*, 11; *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* (Honolulu), Okatoba 25, 1862, 2c.

³⁴*Extracts from a Journal*, 17.

³⁵*Missionary Herald*, LXIV (February, 1863), 36.

³⁶*Extracts from a Journal*, 2.

³⁷*Ibid.*, 12, 32.

³⁸*Ibid.*, 17; Church Registry of Baptisms, Marriages, Burials, etc., in Honolulu of the Hawaiian Reformed Catholic Church (MS. in office of St. Andrew's Cathedral, Honolulu).

³⁹Fr. Clarabut to writer, August 21, 1947.

recently issued.⁴⁰ Shortly after arriving in Honolulu, he sanctioned a local imprint, which Frs. Mason and Ibbotson had probably prepared. This was *The Hawaiian Hymnal, Being for Use in the Diocese of Honolulu*, a collection of 212 hymns, issued in three parts.⁴¹ It included hymns for the seasons, feasts, and fasts for which propers were provided in the Prayer Book, as well as for the monastic hours, sacraments, and offices. Most of these hymns seemingly were drawn from *Hymns, Ancient and Modern*. Somewhat later, the mission published a Hawaiian hymnal, containing thirty-nine hymns;⁴² Fr. Ibbotson may have had some part in their selection.

At services, Ellen Mary Mason, wife of Fr. Mason, played the harmonium, and Fr. Ibbotson directed the choir of native boys, with whose instruction he took great pains.⁴³ In December there arrived and was set up in the cathedral a two manual organ with fifteen stops and 708 pipes,⁴⁴ and about the same time Fr. Ibbotson organized a choral association, made up of both men and women, who practiced weekly.⁴⁵

Fr. Ibbotson's taste in ecclesiastical music was obviously eclectic, for he used plainsong, polyphony, and Anglican chants. There is not much material indicating the music used at the usual services, but there are a number of references to that of the more pretentious ones. At the confirmation of the king and queen, on November 28, 1862, the nineteenth psalm, "The Heavens declare the Glory of God," and the Veni Creator were sung to Gregorian. At the first communion of their majesties on Advent Sunday, Palestrina's "Sing we that Blest Body broken" and Troyte's "Thee we adore, O Hidden Saviour, Thee" were used.⁴⁶ Roger's Te Deum in D major was sung at the services on the king's birthday, February 9, 1863.⁴⁷ The sung Eucharist on Easter,

⁴⁰(London: Novello and Co., no date), 16th thousand. A copy, in the Queen Emma House Museum, includes a page bound between the title page and preface, containing the printed statement:

"I approve this Collection of Hymns, and sanction its use in this Diocese.
April 12, 1862.

T. N. HONOLULU."

On an endpaper there is a manuscript presentation: "Their Majesties the King and Queen of Hawaii, from the Compilers, 1862."

⁴¹(Honolulu, 1862). The copy in the collection of the Hawaiian Historical Society was a bequest of Queen Emma. This hymnal was issued in parts, Part I on November 29, 1862. *Polynesian*, November 29, 1862, 3a.

⁴²*Friend*, XX (January 3, 1865), 5c. The writer has not seen a copy of this book.

⁴³Letter of Ellen Mary Mason in *Net*, I (February 1, 1866), 23.

⁴⁴*Polynesian*, January 10, 1863, 3a, partially reprinted in *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (Honolulu), January 15, 1863, 3a.

⁴⁵Letter of Fr. Mason in *Net*, I (April 2, 1866), 58.

⁴⁶Letter of Viator, December 1, 1862, in *Polynesian*, December 6, 1862, 2cd.

⁴⁷*Polynesian*, February 14, 1863, 3a.

1863, included a Kyrie by Mendelssohn, Roger's Credo in A, Gibbons' Sanctus in F, and the Agnus Dei and Gloria from Mozart's Twelfth Mass,⁴⁸ and that for Easter, 1865, selections from Beethoven, Mendelssohn, and Mozart.⁴⁹ There is practically no information available on the selection of anthems, but at evensong on Easter, 1863, J. C. Whitefield's "In Jewry is God Known" was sung,⁵⁰ and at the funeral of the king, on February 3, 1864, two chorales from Mendelssohn's *St. Paul* were used: "I shall not in the grave remain" and "To Thee, O Lord, I yield my spirit."⁵¹ Even those who disliked the Church and its services had to admit that the music was superbly rendered. A woman, who stated that there was no danger of her turning Reformed Catholic, described the carols sung at Christmas, 1863, as "truly beautiful,"⁵² and a newspaper account of vespers of the dead sung on the evening Robert C. Wyllie's body was laid before the altar, described the service as "particularly fine and impressive."⁵³

Serving as curate under the bishop at the cathedral, Fr. Ibbotson naturally occupied a humble place in the colorful rites, particularly the pontifical ones and those involving the royal family, but as a devoted and self-effacing priest, he was perfectly satisfied with his lot. On greater festivals, Dr. Staley usually sang the midday Eucharist, while Fr. Ibbotson celebrated at an earlier hour. The bishop was chaplain to two successive sovereigns, Kamehameha IV and Kamehameha V, so that upon Kamehameha IV's death, Fr. Ibbotson became chaplain to the Dowager Queen Emma. In this capacity, he offered the Eucharist in the presence of her majesty and her retinue on the morning of May 5, 1865, the day she left Hawaii for a visit to England and the continent.⁵⁴ Perhaps he would have been denied this privilege had not Dr. Staley that morning been attending upon the birth of his eighth child.⁵⁵ In the autumn of 1865, Dr. Staley went to the meeting of the General Convention in Philadelphia, and, during his absence, Wyllie, the faithful minister of foreign relations for two decades and a devout churchman, died. It was Fr. Ibbotson, therefore, who conducted his funeral and who, at the

⁴⁸*Polynesian*, April 4, 1863, 2c.

⁴⁹*Hawaiian Gazette*, April 8, 1865, 3a.

⁵⁰*Polynesian*, April 11, 1863, 2b.

⁵¹Bishop of Honolulu [T. N. Staley], *Five Years' Church Work in the Kingdom of Hawaii* (London: Rivingtons, 1868), 39.

⁵²Letter of Hannah Maria Isenberg, December, 1863, in Ethel M. Damon, *Koamalu, a Story of Pioneers on Kauai and of What They Built in that Island Garden* (Honolulu: Privately Printed, 1931), II, 636-37.

⁵³*Hawaiian Gazette*, I (November 4, 1865), 164a.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, May 6, 1865, 3a.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, May 13, 1865, 3d.

request of his nephew and heir, preached a panegyric, later published at the command of Kamehameha V.⁸⁶

Another of Fr. Ibbotson's duties for some time was the oversight of the cathedral grammar school for boys. Very shortly after the arrival of the mission, Fr. Mason founded a school for boys, and Mrs. Mason one for girls. The boys' school was suggested by Dr. Staley on November 6, 1862,⁸⁷ and it was opened on January 12, 1863, at the parsonage on Kukui Street, behind the temporary cathedral.⁸⁸ According to the advertisement of the school, Fr. Mason proposed to offer Latin, Greek, Euclid, algebra, and the usual branches of an English education, at the tuition rate of twelve dollars a quarter.⁸⁹ By August, 1863, the name St. Alban's had been assigned to the school, and it was reported that there were twenty boarding and several day pupils, who were taught the subjects usually found in an English school, together with daily religious instruction.⁹⁰ The burden of the school was so great that it was soon necessary to bring a schoolmaster from England in order to assist Fr. Mason.⁹¹ Upon Fr. Mason's removal to Lahaina, in January, 1864, Fr. Ibbotson, who for a short time had been in charge of a "free English charity school for poor outcast Hawaiian boys,"⁹² became head of the school.⁹³ The girls' school seems to have been transferred to St. Cross School, in Lahaina, operated by the Sisters of the Holy Trinity, and Fr. Ibbotson, finding the premises of the parsonage too small, in April, 1865, removed St. Alban's to the buildings formerly occupied by the girls' school, in Nuuanu Valley at the mouth of Pauoa Valley. At the beginning of 1866, the school had twenty-five boarding students. Of this number seven were pure blooded Hawaiians, two of them high chiefs; seventeen were half-castes; and one was Chinese. In addition, there were five day students. Three boys had been placed in the school by the Board of Education, which contributed \$250 toward

⁸⁶Funeral Sermon on the death of His Late Excellency R. C. Wyllie: preached in the Hawaiian Cathedral, Kukui Street, on Sunday the 5th November, by the Rev. E. Ibbotson, at the request of R. Crichton, Esq., nephew of the deceased, and printed by His Majesty's commands" in *Hawaiian Gazette*, I (November 11, 1865), 172ad.

⁸⁷Extract from a Journal, 34.

⁸⁸*Polynesian*, December 27, 1862, 2b. There is no foundation for the claim of Iolani School, at Honolulu, that it was founded in 1862. Indeed, there is some doubt that Iolani is a successor of the cathedral grammar school and St. Alban's.

⁸⁹*Polynesian*, November 8, 1862, 2f.

⁹⁰Statement of Dr. Staley, September 9, 1863, in Mildred E. Staley (ed.), "Bishop Staley's Journal" in *Hawaiian Church Chronicle*, March, 1934, 6c.

⁹¹Dr. Staley to S. P. G., March 29 and July 21, 1864, in Letters Received from New Zealand, Wellington, Nelson, Christchurch, Melanesia, Honolulu, 1859-1867 (MSS. in Archives, S. P. G.), Honolulu, Nos. 19 and 16.

⁹²Letter of Dr. Staley, September 30, 1863, in *Mission Field*, 1864, p. 14.

⁹³*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, January 21, 1864, 2f.

their maintenance.⁶⁴ The king was so pleased with the school that he removed a number of boys whom he supported from the Roman Catholic school at Ahuimanu and sent them to St. Alban's.⁶⁵ During Christmas-tide, 1865, Fr. Ibbotson gave a party at the school building to which the students and their parents and friends were invited. After a collation, Fr. Ibbotson played the piano, and both children and adults danced.⁶⁶

Throughout the entire period of his connection with the Hawaiian mission, Fr. Ibbotson was stationed in Honolulu, but he made four visits to outside islands, all directed toward the extension of the mission. In 1863 he accompanied Dr. Staley to Kona on the Island of Hawaii;⁶⁷ he remained at Lahaina for a few weeks; and he made three tours of the Island of Kauai. The first of the visits to Kauai, in the summer of 1863, he described in a letter to the S. P. G.:

I visited seventeen villages, staying at Hanerei⁶⁸ ten days, during which time I drove to all the places adjacent. I held services on the two Sundays I was in the island at Hanerei, consisting of morning service in Hawaiian, and sermon, and evening service in English, and sermon; on the second Sunday, I drove into the village of Kalihiwai and held a third service that day, in a hut placed at my disposal by one of the natives. I baptized, in various places, eighteen children; I should have baptized many more, had I had more time; but my stay was limited to seventeen days, because the Bishop was absent from Honolulu, in the island of Maui, and Mr. Mason was waiting my return to visit the Island of Hawaii, whence he has now gone. From what I could gather from the people, both native and foreign, there seems to be a great want felt of a good English school; the lads (with whom I mixed myself up as much as possible) expressed a great desire to learn English, and in one village (Kelihiiwai) I was told there were between twenty and thirty ready and anxious to come to a school, if we could establish one. The religion of the island seems to be divided equally between Roman Catholics, American Congregationalists, and Mormons. From the fact that the natives are fond of the English, and have expressed their desire, in many instances to me, for a branch of our Mission amongst them, I estimate that at least a congregation of 300 could at once be gathered together from the valley of Hanerei and surrounding districts alone. In addition to this,

⁶⁴Fr. Ibbotson to Treasurers, S. P. G., April 3, 1866, in *Letters Received*, 1859-1867, Honolulu, No. 45; *Hawaiian Gazette*, I (January 13, 1866), 244a.

⁶⁵Reginald Yzendoorn, *History of the [Roman] Catholic Mission in the Hawaiian Islands* (Honolulu: Honolulu Star-Bulletin, 1927), 194.

⁶⁶*Hawaiian Gazette*, I (December 30, 1865), 229a.

⁶⁷Journal of the Bishop of Honolulu's tour in the Island of Hawaii, Sandwich Islands (Owhyhee), entry for June 1, 1864, in *Letters Received*, 1859-1867, Honolulu, No. 25.

⁶⁸Usually spelled Hanelei, but in old Hawaiian *r* and *l* were used interchangeably. Hanelei was the site of Wyllie's plantation, Princeville.

there are some thirty or forty foreigners who attended my services and have expressed unanimously their wish for a church and pastor; at present they do not go to the American churches at all. I did not stay long enough in any parts of the island to gather any particulars to send you, except the one fact, that if we could establish branch Missions in numberless places upon this group, we should do so with an universal success. There are openings for us in all the large parts of the kingdom. My journey involved my riding some days forty-five miles. I spent nearly the whole time on horseback, and in visiting the huts of the natives, as we have all made sufficient progress in the language to enable us to hold conversations with the people.⁶⁹

Because of his acquaintance with Kauai, Fr. Ibbotson, on February 13, 1864, accompanied the Rev. Joseph James Elkington, then a deacon, to Hanelei, where he was to take up residence⁷⁰; and in July Fr. Ibbotson made a third visit to the Island.⁷¹

The number of Fr. Ibbotson's manuscript communications preserved in the archives of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel is disappointingly few, although he seems to have been regular in forwarding them to the secretary. Indeed, there are but eight letters from him now on record, one of which is a statistical account of the cathedral parish, and four of which are no more than requests to honor drafts.⁷² The remaining three, however, are documents of considerable importance. The first of these describes in detail the parochial work in Honolulu:

Honolulu 28th Sept. 1863.

My dear Sir,

I send my quarterly report⁷³ by this mail, as I may not have another opportunity for some time. I regret to say that our postal communication with San Francisco is not so frequent as it was, one of our regular traders having been sold.

I think I gave an account⁷⁴ in my last report of my journey over the Island of Kauai, the large western island of this group.

Since then the Bishop sent me to Lahaina on Maui, where Mr. Scott⁷⁵ is stationed, to relieve that gentleman from his duties, for 2 weeks, he wishing to come to Honolulu upon business.

⁶⁹*S. P. G. Annual Report, 1863-1864*, p. 136.

⁷⁰Dr. Staley to Bullock, Honolulu, February 12, 1864, in Letters Received, 1859-1867, Honolulu, No. 21.

⁷¹See below, letter of July 9, 1864.

⁷²Frs. Mason and Ibbotson, annual report, January 14, 1864, in E MSS 1862-1863 (MSS. in Archives, S. P. G.); Ibbotson to Treasurer, S. P. G., October 1, 1864, January 9, 1865, and April 3, 1866; Ibbotson and Joseph James Elkington to Treasurer, January 1, 1866, in Letters Received, 1859-1867, Honolulu, Nos. 28, 31, 45, 37.

⁷³This report is not now available.

⁷⁴See immediately above.

⁷⁵The Rev. WILLIAM RICHARD SCOTT (April 15, 1824-July 26, 1894).

During my stay in that Island I made journeys in company with one of the Chiefs resident there, and visited some very important places. Of course I could not do other than act for Mr. Scott while in his dominions: my labours apart from the Sunday duties at Lahaina where [*sic*] chiefly devoted to assisting Mr. Scott in looking up pupils for his day and boarding schools established in the headquarters at Lahaina. I could however see what there was to be done in that large and important Island; and my convictions on coming home after my visit where [*sic*] precisely similar to those I formed after my journey to Kauai, viz. that there is an immensity of work to be done there, and work which might *be set about tomorrow* had we the hands to send. There are plenty of American [Congregational] and Roman Catholic missions everywhere; but with all of them there is a deal left undone, and which seems as if it had been left by the disposition of Providence for us to do. Go where we will, the English Mission is received with open arms; not so the other Missions; the one [the Congregational], has disgusted the Natives from its money-getting aims, and its ministry thirsting for the *dollars* alone; the other [the Roman] from its peculiarities and great contrasts to the former does not take with the natives: but I must not lead you to think that the Roman Church here is weak. At the present moment it is making great strides; our Mission has doubtless urged them on; they are daily expecting the arrival of 14 Sisters of Mercy who are said to be *English* ladies, are I believed destined for English Schools: this move is no doubt an off-set against our work. For the accommodation of these ladies they have just purchased a large house adjoining their already extensive premises which reach half way down one street and a considerable distance down another; they have paid for this additional property 3000\$: To that while France is supporting her mission here in style and affluence, England's is really in poverty and weakness, a positive disgrace to our Church. We none of us want to be rich: we can scrape on in a simple cheap way, but we do want *men* and *sisters* and to get them one must have *grants*. I am afraid my quarterly reports are always tinged with an account of how much more we *might* do, and how much there *is* and ought to *be done*, so much so, that you will think them to be no more than a quarterly systematic grumble, but, oh *if you* could be here to see what makes me write this, you would (that is to say the S. P. G. would) send us out men and women to stop our tongues and allow us to work.

But I am happily enabled to send you an account of some little additional work which we have set on foot since my last. We have constituted a Brotherhood, "the Brotherhood of the order of St. James the Less." Its objects are to encourage the small number of our Native and foreign congregations to work for the Church, in doing any good works which will help the mission. It consists of some 15 Members at present including

the Vice-Chancellor (Hon: G. M. Robertson), two Chiefs, two native Lawyers, the King's footman, the husband of the present Queen's old Nurse (a good old man of gray hairs) and some other natives and foreigners. Any Communicant who will accept the rules may be admitted. Their duties are various; teaching in Sunday Schools, visiting, looking up the sick and children for Baptism etc etc. They are already hard at work. We have divided the city into districts, each member takes one district & the Bishop and priests go daily with the Brother through some district and thus we work the place well. The Society has borne some fruit already though only three weeks old. We find numberless poor children, who go to no School, and therefore cost what it may or come what may, we must immediately establish one somehow or other. Our present Parsonage house next door to our "*hovel*" (I cannot call it a Cathedral or Church) and in which I live may be available for the purpose until we can rent a large room or build one: Our Brethren of the "Order" will work at it under my superintendence, and we expect in a short time to have 200 pupils at least; this will be *boys* only. When my sister¹⁰ arrives which I hope may be in a few months time, she will take the girls. Of course it is a *Free School*, and where the dollars are to come from to support it we do not know; we start it as a work which *must* be commenced, and we commence in *Faith*. This is only the first crop of fruit gathered from the latest planted "Brotherhood of St. James the Less": We shall have a second and no meaner crop I hope soon; for our rules are stringent; our declarations which binds us to our work a solemn one; our members (whether white or coloured) *tried men*; and none of us are afraid of our colours. When we begin to build our Cathedral (that is if England intends we should have one) I shall be able to tell you, how the Vice-Chancellor, before the Business of the Supreme Court begins, the Chiefs and Native Lawyers, before the hour for their several duties has arrived, or the English & American Storekeepers, before the time to "open shop," or the King's footman, previous to the laying of the Royal Breakfast; and the Bishop and Priesthood ere the Matins bell is heard, are one and all shouldering the hod of mortar, or handling the axe (for the coral stones are cut and shaped with axes and not the trowel of England), and busily occupied upon that longed-for work. Our rules include such work as this, in fact all work, mental and physical, where the good of the Church of Christ

¹⁰CAROLINE MARY IBBOTSON (August 30, 1834-February 19, 1925). She was born in Otham and was baptized in the parish church of that place on October 10, 1834. Of her, Bp. Dixon, who knew her at Walthamstow, wrote: "Loved equally well was the sweet-natured and gentle sister who looked after all the domestic arrangements at the vicarage. Brother and sister lived together in perfect harmony." Her body is buried in the same grave as that of Fr. Ibbotson. [Fr. Spurling to writer, April 17, 1947; K. W. King, of the Crystal Palace District Cemetery Company, to writer, March 26, 1947; Bp. Dixon to writer, May 15, 1947.]

is concerned. You must consider the greater portion of this letter as a private one to your self. I have gone off into a strain which is not formal enough for the Society.

I have drawn my quarterly bill and shall be able to get the cash for it before the next mail leaves. You will therefore oblige me by taking a note of it, wh. will release me from writing by next post.

Praying for help in men and money

Believe me,

yours very truly

EDMUND IBBOTSON

P. S. Should my sister come out could you help her in her passage money. She has a comfortable home now and need not leave it. Her private resources are not enough to clothe her. If she come & give up her home she will sacrifice all except that little."

A later letter of Fr. Ibbotson's provides an excellent commentary upon the progress of the mission and its prospects:

Honolulu 22nd March, 1864

Dear Sir,

I have to apologise for the absence of any report of our proceedings for the Quarter ending Decr last. At the time I wrote to advise you of my draft we were very much occupied in preparing for the funeral of his late Majesty [Kamehameha IV]⁷⁷ after which I was sent by the Bishop to the Island of Kauai to assist Mr. Elkington⁷⁸ in establishing himself there.

I now beg to advise my draft upon the Treasurers for the Quarter ending this month. I have drawn one week sooner than usual (not for my own accomodation) for the accomodation of Mr. J. T. Waterhouse⁸⁰ the merchant here, who kindly buys our bills; he was anxious to make a remittance to London, and called upon me to ask me if I could let him have the bill in order to save the mail tomorrow; our mail departures are so very irregular and uncertain, that had I not done as he asked the bill would probably not have gone forward for some days afterwards. I trust I shall not have incurred the displeasure of the Venerable Society in consequence.

Since my last report I have to inform you of the death of His late Majesty Kamehameha IV. You will have heard all the particulars relating to this sad event so that I need not refer to any now; I will only add that his successor Kamehameha V has declared himself an earnest supporter and member of our

⁷⁷E15 (MSS. in Archives, S. P. G.).

⁷⁸The king died on St. Andrew's Day, 1863, and the funeral, a requiem eucharist, was celebrated February 3, 1864.

⁷⁹The Rev. JOSEPH JAMES ELKINGTON (1833-February 29, 1908).

⁸⁰John Thomas Waterhouse (May 16, 1816-January 8, 1895), an English merchant in Honolulu.

Mission and has signified to his attendants and people his wish that they should join *his* Church. As proof of his sincerity our congregations (native) have increased; many have applied for Confirmation and admittance to the Church. We have no doubt but that this movement upon the part of His Majesty, towards us, will produce an effect upon the native population generally, the result of which will be a very large accession to our Congregations, and an increased strengthening of our present firm foundation.

Our general mission work in the City has been progressing favourably. I am the only priest here now, Mr. Mason having moved to take charge of the Mission at Lahaina, as successor to Mr. Scott who, I believe, will leave for England in a few weeks.

Our English Free School for native boys works very well, we have a regular attendance of 70, and I am happy to say, that they appear to improve in their lessons & English speaking. We shall have a public examination in June, a copy of the report shall be furnished you. I could have a much larger number of pupils, but as we want a master it is as much as I can attend to by myself, and the voluntary assistance of a young gentleman, who is a member of our foreign congregation. Could we but have a good earnest man from England to undertake this branch of our work it would prove a very great blessing to us all. We should then be enabled to increase our numbers. There are some foreign Govt schools here where the pupils are bound for 5 years; even these try to get away and enter our schools; as I said before we have a difficulty to keep them back. In such cases I always apply to the Government Inspector, for advice, and in the course of a letter I received from him a few weeks since on a similar matter, he said: "*the fact is your school is so very popular among the boys, that they endeavour to find some excuse, by which to leave their own schools and enter yours.*" This from an American gentleman is *valuable* testimony.

We have as yet no free school for girls. My sister is expecting to leave home in June, and on her arrival I hope we may be able to open one.

In our Church work, I may say, we are in a most hopeful position (as far as Honolulu and Lahaina are concerned) our congregations are increasing; our people devout, reverent and regular in attendance; (Mr. Mason will of course report about Lahaina).

On the 5th Sunday in Lent the Bishop held a Confirmation. 30 natives were admitted and 7 foreigners. The church was unusually crowded, many people not of our congregation being present. I need scarcely add that the Ceremony as usual produced a very deep effect upon the people generally. We have given notice of another Confirmation to be held at the end of April. Of the 7 foreigners above mentioned only two were of our own regular congregation; the remaining five were

grown-up daughters of Parents who are members of the Methodist Chapel here⁸¹; I mention this to prove that our services are acceptable to these people, who not having advanced in life are not, as the Parents say "too old to change." So that if the Parents do not come themselves, it is not that they do not like our system, but from the fact of not wanting "to change" being old. In one foreign family the parents are Methodists but their "children" come to our church. In another the parents are Presbyterian, but the 4 *children* come to us. A German Lutheran assists in the Choir; the son of an independent preacher in England attends our church⁸²; A large family of Scotch people lately arrived from New Zealand & were about to settle here as sheep farmers, consisting of 10 members they are all devotedly attached to the church and services & though living 2 miles away come here regularly. I mention these instances to show you that our services are approved of by all classes and denominations. From which last observation I do not wish you to gather that our preaching is *watered* down to suit all sorts and kinds. We find it the same here as at home, that people readily accept the Truth if preached to them in *Love*.

Our church is inconveniently small; we must do something soon by way of having a larger and more suitably shaped building. We called our foreign cong. together last week and talked the matter over. They were one and all in favor of putting up a temporary building of wood on our own ground in the town wh. the King gave us.⁸³ We are to hold a native meeting this week at wh. I expect the King will be present, to discuss the subject and shall I hope move in the matter at once. With respect to our condition as far as Clergy are concerned, I must repeat my oft-told tale, that we do indeed want more men. At Lahaina I am told by our native people here, who correspond with their friends there, that we may expect a large addition to our numbers, in that quarter. Here we are in the same condition, and our next Confirmation will prove what I say. At Kona in Hawaii repeated applications are made, as to the clergymen we tell them we shd. write to you about when the Bp. and I visited that Island this time last year. At Waimea and Hilo where Mr. Mason went a few months since, the same calls are being repeatedly made to us. In fact it is now dangerous for us to go about: we go and stir up an interest in our work, promise the people we will do something for them soon, the time *never* comes, in the meanwhile, the Roman Catholics go and build up a church without the least fuss, and open out upon the ground once offered to us. It will be wise now to shut our selves up where we are and keep quiet, for our journeys

⁸¹The five converts were two Misses Smith and three Misses Wundenberg. Confirmations, 1862-1928 (MS. in Archives, Missionary District of Honolulu).

⁸²Theophilus Harris Davies (January 4, 1833-May 25, 1898) was the son of a Wesleyan minister.

⁸³The land which Kamehameha IV gave to the Church is the present site of St. Andrew's Cathedral.

only stir up an interest and a desire for a Church and Clergyman, which we leave expressed, and soon to be caught up by our adversaries. We shall soon be disbelieved in; all our openings and prospects of branch missions will be taken from us; and the result of our landing in these Islands prove to be the fortune of the Rom. Catholic Ch. and the inability of the Ch. of England to establish her branch: and what makes this so painful is that we are *wanted and longed for*—our own native people will tell you this; those whom we care for love our Church and worship, they come regularly; they are not in a state of *effervescence*, 18 months have proved them to be solid lovers of our Church; it is quite affecting sometimes to see a youth of 16 who has been confirmed, bringing in with him two lads older than himself for the next confirmation. If we want a few wreaths made for Christmas, half a word is enough to bring all the congregation to work, for the purpose; so different to my late parish in the North of England, where you must *beg and pray* a few "fine ladies" to help, and lend a *grudging* hand. It is clear to all that Calvinism [*sic*] is doomed now: and as it is doomed so are the Roman Catholics stirred up to new exertions. These latter are very strong, and have received during the past week an accession to their staff (already *very large*) of 10 nuns and six priests; one of their flock told one of our flock yesterday that, "their people were determined to eat up the English Missionaries"—and unless we are soon to have an accession to our staff this will turn out *too true a word spoken in jest*. I should not feel comfortable were I to hide from you this state of things. The Question is "Are we to hold our ground and go on, or fail?" For my own part I can reply easily, that we shall not even hold our ground if we do not secure reinforcements of men; our people will of course die out in time, and if we are not to be able to maintain our schools and *increase* them, where are our "coming generations" to spring from. We hear from our Committee that they are exerting themselves to the utmost for our good, but we want *men* as well as *money*, we want ladies to work about amongst the poor and sick; to take charge of our schools for girls (one of our chiefest wants) and of which we have not as yet done much, although all that *cd* be done has been. I assure you we have a hard time of it. If ever there was a mission all but crushed by being disheartened it is this. Do ask the Committee to think of this and help us with some men.

In *Hawaii* we could place 4 men at once, 1 Kona, 1 Waimea, 1 Hilo, 1 Kailua where the late king preached in a surplice to his people, his aidecamp reading some prayers.

In *Maui* we want at least two, 1 at Wailuku and 1 to help Mr. Mason at Lahaina.

In *Oahu*, we want 3, 1 at Wailupe, 1 Kahuku, 1 in Honolulu to assist me.

In *Kauai* we want at least two, 1 at Koloa, 1 at Hanerei to help Mr. Elkington.

This account does not include the Islands of *Molokai*, *Lanai*, *Kahoolawe*, *Niihau* and the east part of *Maui* wh. is in itself a large space.

Since the Bp. and I visited Kona, there has been a Rom. Cath. Church built within a few yards of the piece of land given us for a church. At Hanerei since sent Mr. Elkington down there a Rom. Cath. Church is now being built, "because (as the natives have told Mr. Elkington) the English are going to have one up the valley." So you see we cannot move without establishing our Roman brethren; therefore as I said before it is dangerous for us to move out of Honolulu until we can take a man and leave him on the spot we visit. And in the meantime we leave the implications unattended to, the ground unoccupied, the people hoping and hoping until they are sick of hoping, and for want of their own chosen church fall into the Roman nets. I feel I shall not have to be writing this to you much longer, for the thing will tell its own tale; one year more will prove all and open out some wonderful revelations; either we have more men and work successfully, or the mission becomes a failure, and *collapses* for want of hands. One of our own congregation, a lady of intelligence, and some authority from long residence here, said last week, "Ah the Islands will soon be Roman Catholic altogether." I suppose she meant that she had watched them so long, and had seen the strides that church was making. I hope the Church of England will never lay herself open to the charge that in the Hawaiian Islands she could not stand against Rome.

I went to *Kauai* at the Bishop's command to assist Mr. Elkington in establishing himself there. The school he went to take, we found arranged upon a very exclusive principle; all the supporters objecting to the admittance of native children. I left the decision open till I returned to the Bishop, and in the meantime visited two native villages containing 30 native children; I told the Parents to write a request to Mr. Wyllie upon whose land they lived, for Mr. Elkington to remain there and teach their children. I brought the requisition home with me, leaving Mr. E. to wait the result of a meeting of the Bishop and Mr. Wyllie. I proposed at that meeting that (until we heard from you about a grant for Mr. E. and until Mr. Scott's departure wh. would put £200 a year at the disposal of the Bishop) Mr. Wyllie should find £50, a year, and the Synod £50 for the temporary support of Mr. E. and the free school for the 28 children be opened forthwith. This Mr. Wyllie and the Bp agreed to, and we stand thus till your letters are received upon the subject. Mr. Elkington holds services on Sundays at two villages and looks to the school during the week. From his letter recd. this day I find he had 45 natives last Sunday, and that his school was "looking up" favourably.

I will now close my dispatch; I hope there is something in it wh may interest you; I know there is as usual plenty of grumbling. But please put yourselves in our places, and if you could feel happy when you see day by day, your flock being taken from you: your work more and more crippled, and your own dear Mother Church earning for herself a *bad name*.

With respectful compliments to all the board of direction, and many thanks for the confidence reposed in me, in appointing me to serve in this part of God's vineyard,

Believe me

Yours very truly

EDMUND IBBOTSON

To the Rev. the Sec. S. P. G.
79 Pall Mall,
London.⁴⁴

Fr. Ibbotson's analysis of what would happen if the mission were not enlarged was remarkably foresighted, for it almost collapsed somewhat later, primarily because of the lack of support.

The third letter comments on local and English criticisms of the mission and on the Society's neglect of Dr. Staley:

Honolulu,
9 July 1864.

Revd. Sir,

I beg to inform you that I have drawn as usual my bill for the past quarter to the order of Mr. J. T. Waterhouse, and shall be obliged by the necessary attention being paid to it at home.

I sent a lengthy report at the end of March since which time our work has been going on as usual so that I have nothing especially to inform you of this quarter. I am to leave here on Monday for a tour of Kauai and a visit to Mr. Elkington at the Hanerei Station. I shall return to Honolulu in about 3 weeks or a month, at the opening of our various schools after the present holidays. The reports of my journey shall be sent to you next quarter.

I wrote fully in March and gave you some idea of our position and prospects, all I then said I now confirm; time proves as it flows on, the more and more necessity, that we shd. have additional help. The Bishop is wondering how it is that all his applications, one after the other, are (apparently) carefully ignored. We could at the moment employ three very respectable

⁴⁴E15.

natives as Deacons, if we had the means; two of these⁸⁵ might be ordained at once, the other whose health is delicate, wd. perhaps be better for more time, but still he cd. work in our schools, etc., if we had anything to give him. Believing that our various reports and applications wd. at all events and to say the least, met with *some attention*, if only of the most meagre kind, we have met many applications for Clergy etc. with the reply that we will write to the S. P. G. and apply for a Clergyman; in course of time we are asked if we had recd. any reply; and we say *No*, then as time goes on constant enquiries are made after this expected reply, till we feel ashamed of our country and the Christians of our country; and the enquirers *begin to doubt if there be any S. P. G. at all*. My sister arrived on the 29th June:⁸⁶ her arrival has in some measure opened our eyes to the cause of all the silence on your parts. She tells us of the most extraordinary reports wh. are floating about England as to our doings here. Now if anyone gives credence to them, especially any member of the S. P. G. I can only regret that men of talent and education can be so easily *gulled*. Extravagant ritual seems to be the sore point; now as one of the Clergy of the Mission, allow me to deny most emphatically that we do not adopt anything of the kind; except upon one or two occasions to please our native people we have never had even what in England wd. be called an *ornate Service*. Our Morning Prayer is a simple read Service, with the two Canticles and a Hymn sung. At our Evg. Prayer we add the Psalms chanted once out of three times perhaps. Except on the great Festivals our Communion Service is as simple. But even if we did adopt extravagant ritual, who are the best able to judge and pass opinions upon that question, the Board at home or the working Missionaries here? Certainly, not the Board at home. *1st.* because they cannot do so fairly or from experience, being 12 thousands of miles off; *2ndly.* they do not know the people; it so happens that the natives are a people fond of ceremony etc.; and it is easily explained, for where in a country which lacks the means of producing effects, and adding dignity and importance to ceremonies, such as music, military etc., etc., the want is supplied by ceremonial or if you like ritual. In all their national customs or observances, ceremonial forms one of the chiefest features. I say the Board at home has no notion of what is right and proper in this respect; and let me prove what I say. When I was *examined* (so to speak) before the Board previous to my leaving England, I remember quite well the two questions which were put to me by those gentlemen,

1. You are not prepared to find the natives equal to, or fond of, such things as *ritual*, in the Islands, are you? I replied,

⁸⁵William Hoapili Kaauwai and Davidson Hinau Namakeha. Kaauwai was later made deacon, but he was never raised to the priesthood. He was the only Hawaiian ever to receive holy orders.

⁸⁶She arrived in Honolulu aboard the *Smyrniote* on June 29, 1864. [*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, July 2, 1864, 2b.]

I was prepared, for I had always heard that they were a people who observed such things in their own national customs etc.

2. You do not expect that your musical talent will be much use to the natives, or cared for at all by such ignorant people, do you? I replied, *I do*, for I have always heard that they are a people particularly fond of music.

I could not help fancying then that I knew a great deal more about this people than my examiners did, and time has proved that I did. Now I say again, do not be judging us from your own fancies or from reports which reach you. Because if you withhold your support in consequence you will be doing an injustice to us and the souls of this people.

You will ask, how is that people should say such things—let me reply, There may be two people in our congregation, which consists of American Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Unitarians and Dissenters of all kinds, who wd. think us Papists, because we say kneeling is the proper attitude for prayer, and such like things; of course to speak of the Sacraments before such a mixture of creeds is conclusive evidence to them that we are Papists. Therefore you must allow that when we speak of a Church at all, we must offend some, we cannot help it; but for these *two persons*, are we to water down the faith of England's Church and then run the risk of driving over to Rome those who are faithful and loving members of our Church. No, we must speak the truth, come what will, and we cannot surely be to blame when we do so *in love*: which has been the one ruling idea in all our preaching.

But who are these two,—one is a Unitarian family who came to us to "toady" the late King, the father being the Court doctor, who was lately discarded through his incompetency,⁸⁷ and whose wife does not mind going about and saying that the Bishop was at the bottom of her husband's dismissal.—The other is the son of a Methodist preacher who wanted to be allowed to communicate at the Methodist Chapel here, where he had always been before we arrived.⁸⁸ The Bp's. refusal to allow anything of the kind was construed into an act of intolerant bigotry and unmerciful illiberality. In course of times we found our friend had been using insulting language against the Bp. and Clergy and to him we can trace many of the reports wh. probably have reached your ears.

May I ask, will you listen to them or to me. I think I am correct in all I have said for my sister has just arrived from home with such reports in her mind; I need scarcely add that she is surprised at their incorrectness and that they have been in any way believed.

⁸⁷Dr. Robert McKibbin, Sr. (d. March 11, 1876).

⁸⁸Theophilus Harris Davies. See footnote 82 above. Some years after this opposition to Dr. Staley, Davies got into a disgraceful controversy with Dr. Alfred Willis, second bishop of Honolulu. One of Davies' sons is the Very Rev. Arthur Whitcliffe Davies, dean of Worcester.

I can say no more after the above.

Believe me,

Yours faithfully,

E. IBBOTSON.

The Secy.

S. P. G.

London.⁸⁹

On May 8, 1866, Fr. Ibbotson left Honolulu aboard the brig *Hesperian* for San Francisco and eventually England, and he never returned.⁹⁰ The reason for his departure is unknown, but obviously it was not because of any friction with the bishop, even though Dr. Staley thought that he had an "unfortunate manner" as far as ceremonial was concerned,⁹¹ for he carried with him a cordial letter addressed to Dr. William Ingraham Kip, bishop of California:

Honolulu May 6 [1866]

My Lord,

This will be presented to you by the Revd. E. Ibbotson who is returning hom[e] to England after 3½ years' labor in the Hawaiian Church. You will doubtless remember him. I commend him during his stay in S[an]. F[rancis]co to your Lordship's friendly offices. Would you kindly introduce him to the Clergy.

faithfully yours,

T. N. HONOLULU⁹²

After a voyage of twenty-five days, the *Hesperian* arrived in California,⁹³ and shortly afterwards Fr. Ibbotson continued on his journey.

Upon his return to England, Fr. Ibbotson held a number of brief curacies. For several months immediately following, he seems to have ministered voluntarily and without license at St. Alban's, Holborn.⁹⁴ From 1868 to 1874, he was curate of Dorchester-on-Thames.⁹⁵ Then he was connected for a while with St. Paul's, Walworth, in which parish he gave at least one lecture on Hawaii. At this time, in Honolulu,

⁸⁹Letters Received, 1859-1867, Honolulu, No. 22.

⁹⁰*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, May 12, 1866, 2b; *Hawaiian Gazette*, May 12, 1866, 3a.

⁹¹Dr. Staley to Dr. Henry Benjamin Whipple, New York, November 26, [1865], in Whipple Papers (MSS. in Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul).

⁹²The William Ives Rutter, Jr., Collection (MSS. in Church Historical Society, Philadelphia). Dr. Staley gave Fr. Ibbotson £70 to cover his passage. Dr. Staley to Bullock, Kensington, March 14, [1871], in Letters Received, 1865-1874, Honolulu, No. 58.

⁹³*Daily Alta California* (San Francisco), June 4, 1866, 4b, 4c.

⁹⁴Fr. Clarabut to writer, January 6, 1947.

⁹⁵*Crockford*, 1896, p. 698.

rumors were circulated by irresponsible persons that Fr. Ibbotson had seceded to the Roman Church and was to return to Hawaii as a Roman priest.⁹⁶ There was, of course, no foundation to the rumors. Twice during the period, 1876-1879, Fr. Ibbotson served as "acting chaplain for temporary service" in the royal navy. From March 2 to August, 1876, he was aboard the troopship *Orontes*, which conveyed the viceroy, Lord Lytton, to Bombay; and from October 15, 1878, to January 9, 1879, he was aboard the troopship *Serapis*, which made two voyages to Bombay.⁹⁷ In connection with his naval service he wrote and published a sixteen page pamphlet, *The Church in the Royal Navy, a Letter Addressed, by Permission, to His Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury on the Subject of Naval Chaplains, their Work, Pay, Position, etc.* (London: Rivingtons, 1876). Returning to land, he served for three years as chaplain of All Saints' Hospital, Eastbourne, maintained by the great Church of All Saints, Margaret Street, London.⁹⁸

The most enduring monument of Fr. Ibbotson's priesthood is the Church of St. Michael and All Angels, Walthamstow. Northwest of London, Walthamstow, like many other suburbs of the metropolis, experienced during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, a great increase in population, principally of clerks, artisans, laborers, and the very poor. The bishop of St. Albans, in whose diocese the suburb lies, and the incumbents of two neighboring parishes approved the formation of a new district and obtained from a layman and from the Council of the Bishop's Fund assurances of financial assistance. The curate of St. James', Walthamstow, gathered the nucleus of a congregation which held services in the parish church. In the spring of 1882, the curate resigned, and Fr. Ibbotson succeeded him. On May 8, 1882, at his direction, some twenty-five persons assembled in the church school-room and adopted a resolution recommending the immediate erection of a church and an appeal for funds. At a meeting a year later, it was found that £2920 had been subscribed, and at the end of the second year, a total of £6000. The committee then bravely entered into contract for the erection of an early decorated Gothic church large enough to accommodate eight hundred worshippers. The contractor began construction on July 21, 1884, but, on the preceding day, Fr. Ibbotson invited the children of the parish to bring their toy tools and to break the ground. After a short office read by Fr. Ibbotson standing in a wheelbarrow, the children, soon to be known as St. Michael's Diggers,

⁹⁶*Hawaiian Church Monthly Messenger*, April 1, 1875, p. 27; June 1, 1875, p. 44.

⁹⁷The Ven. John Kenneth Wilson, chaplain of the Fleet, to writer, August 29, 1947.

⁹⁸*Crockford*, 1896, p. 698.

plunged their spades into the ground, and the project was under way. The cornerstone was laid on October 11, 1884, at which time an offering of almost a thousand pounds was placed upon the stone. Thirteen months later, on November 18, 1885, the bishop consecrated the new building, and at the consecration were two priests with connections in Honolulu, the Rev. Joseph James Elkington, whom Fr. Ibbotson had taken to Kauai, and the Rev. Alexander Mackintosh, who had gone out to Hawaii as a layman in 1869.⁹⁹

In the meantime the St. Michael's Diggers had written twelve thousand letters to Sunday schools throughout England soliciting money to use in constructing the Sunday school and parish rooms. So successful were their pleas, that the cornerstone of the building was laid on May 20, 1885, and the building opened less than five months later. An endowment for the church was soon obtained. Having fulfilled all of the legal requirements, the district of St. Michael's became a parish in January, 1887, and Fr. Ibbotson was immediately licensed as perpetual curate.¹⁰⁰

At St. Michael's, Fr. Ibbotson worked slowly but thoroughly. He began the daily Mass on May 13, 1889, and introduced the use of eucharistic vestments four months later.¹⁰¹ His work was immediately successful, and he attracted to the parish "an enthusiastic congregation which filled the Church." His curate who succeeded him as vicar wrote that the spiritual edifice which he erected "was far greater than the material," great as that was.¹⁰² So effective was his work among children that he had as many as a thousand in the Sunday school. To one of these, an orphan from India, he was a veritable father, and "his kindness and guidance and . . . the dignity and reverence of the services at St. Michael's" caused the lad to seek holy orders.¹⁰³ The Sunday school met at ten, and at eleven all but the tiniest children went into the church for the parish Mass, at which they sang heartily. At

⁹⁹Anglican Church Chronicle, IV (May 1, 1886), 82a.

¹⁰⁰Edmund Ibbotson, *A Brief Account of the First Five Years' Work in the Parish of St. Michael and All Saints, Walthamstow, Being a Letter to the Parishioners, Congregation, and Friends* (Westminster: Printed by T. Brettell and Co., 1887), 22 pp. Courtesy of Fr. Clarabut. See also *Anglican Church Chronicle*, I (October 6, 1883), 131b; III (December 4, 1884), 310a; IV (February 6, 1886), 44a; V (November 5, 1887), 149b.

¹⁰¹SS. *Michael and All Angels', Northcote Road, Walthamstow, Jubilee Booklet, 1885-1935* (Walthamstow: Ambrose Press, 1935), 25. Courtesy of Fr. Clarabut.

¹⁰²Fr. Clarabut to writer, January 6, 1947.

¹⁰³The Rt. Rev. Noel Porter, bishop of Sacramento, to writer, April 8, 1947.

three they returned to church for catechism.¹⁰⁴ Of the nine curates who served under him at St. Michael's, as many as three at once, one became a colonial bishop.¹⁰⁵

His curate and successor described him, while vicar of St. Michael's, "a wise counsellor to many, a firm friend, a secret benefactor to people who had no real claim on him. He had a delightful sense of humor, never sought popularity, and worked with a pertinacity and thoroughness that were a reproach to us younger fellows who, I fear, dallied through our work with a light heart. And I think the secret of it all was due, not to his courage or the charm of his goodness and friendship, but rather to his profound belief in the priesthood of the Catholic Church."¹⁰⁶ Another curate regarded him as "a devoted priest of God. His was not an ostentatious devotion. It was perfectly natural and was part of the man—a devotion that one was made aware of at all times and under all circumstances. It never seemed to flag, it never even approached breaking point and it was capable of standing up to any strain."¹⁰⁷

In 1897, Fr. Ibbotson resigned the cure of St. Michael's and accepted the less arduous rectorate of Burmarsh, Dymchurch, Kent, to which he was inducted on August 30. At Burmarsh, as elsewhere, he prosecuted his duties vigorously; he began publication of a parish magazine and erected a new reredos. Under him, attendance at Sunday school increased tenfold.¹⁰⁸ Between 1902 and 1903, he helped voluntarily at St. George's, Beckenham, Kent,¹⁰⁹ and then accepted the chaplaincy of the Clergy Orphans' School of St. Margaret's, Bashey, Hertfordshire, where he ministered for two years, after which he retired.¹¹⁰ He enjoyed almost nine years of retirement. He died in Beckenham on January 1, 1914, of sudden heart failure, indigestion, and angina pectoris, of two days' duration.¹¹¹ After the last services, conducted by the Rev. A. J. McMichael Dutton, his body was buried in the Crystal Palace District Cemetery. His grave is marked by a cross, containing, in addition to his name, age, and date of death, the prayer often found on the tombstones of "ritualistic" priests, "Jesu Mercy."¹¹²

¹⁰⁴Bp. Dixon to writer, May 15, 1947.

¹⁰⁵*Jubilee Booklet*.

¹⁰⁶Fr. Clarabut to writer, January 6, 1947.

¹⁰⁷Bp. Dixon to writer, May 15, 1947.

¹⁰⁸The Rev. August Simons, rector of Dymchurch, to writer, August 23, 1947.

¹⁰⁹Fr. Clarabut to writer, December 24, 1946.

¹¹⁰*Crockford*, 1913.

¹¹¹Death certificate (MS. in General Register Office, London).

¹¹²The Rev. Francis Boyd, rector of Beckenham, to writer, February 14, 1947. The body is buried in grave 6569, plot Y2. Fr. Ibbotson, on January 22, 1900, executed his will in which he designated his sister as sole heir and executrix. [MS. in Principal Probate Registry, London.]

No more fitting eulogy could have been made than that by his choir-boy who became an American bishop:

He was one of God's noblemen, a true priest, a faithful shepherd, and above all a true Christian gentleman. As I think of his influence there comes to my mind the passage from Micah: "He shall stand in the strength of the Lord, he shall feed his flock; and they shall abide in peace."¹¹³

In appearance, Fr. Ibbotson was a handsome man, standing six feet and weighing 182 pounds, with dark brown hair, blue eyes, a thin, aquiline nose, and clean shaven face; in his old age his hair turned white, and he was obliged to wear spectacles. Unmarried, he was a celibate rather than a bachelor. For many years he belonged to the English Church Union.¹¹⁴

¹¹³Dr. Porter to writer, April 8, 1947.

¹¹⁴Fr. Clarabut to writer, February 26, 1947.

THE LUSITANIAN CHURCH OF PORTUGAL*

By Louis A. Haselmayer†

I. INTRODUCTION

THE 1948 Lambeth Conference in the Report of its Committee on Christian Unity,¹ as well as in Resolution 73,² has drawn the attention of the Anglican Communion to the existence of the Igreja Lusitana, Católica, Apostólica, Evangélica, or the Lusitanian Church of Portugal.³ It requested that fuller information regarding this reformed Catholic communion in Portugal, as well as its sister communion in Spain, the Iglesia Española Reformada,⁴ be made available to members of the Anglican Churches. It has brought again to light the existence of two communions whose affairs were discussed at the Lambeth Conferences of 1878, 1888, 1897, and 1908⁵; whose existence was noted by

*So far as is known, this is the only published study of the subject. It is based entirely on material gathered by the author through correspondence, and none of the documents cited—historical, liturgical, doctrinal—appear to be in the libraries of any American theological seminaries. The Council on Foreign Relations of the Church of England prepared a much shorter and undocumented study of the Lusitanian Church for the Lambeth Conference, but it was not published other than in mimeographed form for restricted use by the Conference.—*Editor's note.*

†The Rev. Dr. Haselmayer is professor of history and acting head of the department of classical languages, Daniel Baker College, Brownwood, Texas, title to which was recently acquired by the diocese of Dallas.—*Editor's note.*

¹*The Lambeth Conference* (London: SPCK: 1948), *Report*, p. 77.

²*Ibid.*, *Resolutions*, p. 45.

³There is no account of the Lusitanian Church published in English except for the material in the *Lambeth Conference Reports*. An official history of the Church has been published in Portuguese. [Eduardo Henriques Moreira, *Esboço da História da Igreja Lusitana* (Edição Do Sínodo Da Igreja Lusitana Católica Apostólica Evangélica; Vila Nova de Gaia; 1949).] Reference is made throughout this study to this volume as Moreira, *Esboço*. The author is also in possession of a number of privately prepared manuscript histories, as well as a file of personal correspondence with the Most Rev. Dr. John A. F. Gregg, archbishop of Armagh, primate of the Church of Ireland, and chairman of the Provisional Council of Irish Bishops; as well as with the Rev. Antonio F. Fiandor, president of the Synod of the Lusitanian Church. The character of this personal correspondence forbids direct quotation, and these documents are referred to throughout the article as *Private Correspondence*.

⁴The best account of the Iglesia Española Reformada appears in F. D. How, *William Conyngham Plunket* (New York: 1901), pp. 208-276. Cf. also *The Lambeth Conference*, 1948, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

⁵*The Five Lambeth Conferences*, compiled by Randall T. Davidson (London: 1920), pp. 93, 123, 195, 205, 241-2, 427.

the American General Conventions of 1883, 1889, and 1892⁶; whose guidance was tentitively placed under the pastoral care of the Rt. Rev Henry Chauncey Riley, consecrated by the American Episcopal Church as bishop of Mexico Valley; whose patronage by the Churches of England and Ireland was the subject of a bitter periodical warfare in the 1890's; and whose confirmations and ordinations since 1894 have been administered by bishops of the Church of Ireland. It is a body, not in formal communion with the Churches of the Anglican Communion, composed of clergy whose orders are almost entirely Anglican in origin.⁷ The Igreja Lusitana, the Iglesia Española Reformada, and the Iglesia Filipina Independiente comprise the three "associated churches" of the Anglican Communion. They are foreign churches that have separated from the Church of Rome, and have received their orders from the Churches of the Anglican Communion, without ever becoming part of the Anglican Communion or even being in official intercommunion with it.

The numerical weakness of this Church; the persecution it has suffered from the established religion of Portugal; the isolation between it and the rest of western Christendom, have made it an almost forgotten Christian body. The other non-Roman communions in Portugal are proportionately small as well, but they are mission works of western Protestant communions and receive strength and encouragement from their mother churches.⁸ The Lusitanian Church is an independent national communion without external relationship to any other Christian body. The communicant strength is not large enough to meet the requirements for membership in the World Council of Churches. The only possible outside connection must be through the Churches of the Anglican Communion.

II. ORIGINS OF THE CHURCH

The Lusitanian Church originated in a nationalistic rejection of Portuguese Roman Catholicism. Its connection with Anglicanism de-

⁶*Journal of General Convention*, 1883, pp. 558/9; *ibid.*, 1889, p. 619; *ibid.*, 1892, p. 534.

⁷Of the twenty-six members of the clergy of the Lusitanian Church from 1879-1943, only five are former Roman priests. The rest were ordained either directly by the bishops of the Church of Ireland or by Bishop Juan B. Cabrera of the Iglesia Española Reformada, who had been consecrated by Lord Plunket, archbishop of Dublin, on September 23, 1894. Cf. Moreira, *Esboço*, p. 42, and F. D. How, *William Conyngham Plunket*, *op. cit.*, p. 276.

⁸There are ten Protestant missions in Portugal consisting of the Congregationalists, Plymouth Brethren, Methodists, Baptists, Evangelical Church of Portugal, Presbyterians, Nazarenes, Adventists, Scandinavian Alliance, and Lutherans. Cf. for a recent study of Protestant missions in Portugal, G. E. Hopkins, "Report on Portugal," in *The Christian Century*, July 13, 1949.

rives from the fact that Anglicans resident in Portugal for business and ecclesiastical reasons showed an interest in the group and guided the development. The Anglican interest was that of individuals, rather than the planned strategy of a missionary society or church.

Two early leaders of this anti-Roman movement were Spaniards by birth. About 1839, a Spanish priest and doctor of medicine, the Rev. Gomes y Togar, after spending some time in England, came to Lisbon and was given permission to found a reformed congregation. In 1852, the government dispersed this congregation, but the individual members continued to spread the idea of a non-Roman communion. In 1867, a second Spanish priest, the Rev. Angelo Herreros de Mora, after spending some time in America, came to Portugal. Quietly and without legal permission, he gathered a congregation.⁹ The Rev. Angelo de Mora had visited the Anglican chaplain at Gibraltar, the Rev. H. W. Rule, D. D., and through him had become acquainted with Anglican forms of worship.

The Portuguese government at this particular moment was rather liberal-minded towards non-Roman religious bodies. Mora applied to the government for permission to hold public evangelical services. An Order in Council, dated August 5, 1870, licensed this request, and a group called "The Spanish Reformed Church" came into being.¹⁰ It posed as a foreign mission in Portugal, rather than a Portuguese ecclesiastical body. Under this arrangement, a number of Portuguese were attracted to the church and its worship. In 1879, the congregation obtained a Spanish translation of the Book of Common Prayer, which was used regularly until a national liturgy was prepared. From the outset, personal acquaintance with Anglicans set the liturgical pattern of the Church in Anglican modes. From that day until this, the Lusitanian Church in its doctrinal and liturgical ethos has been Anglican rather than Roman.

There has never been any idea that the movement was Protestant. From the beginning, the separation from Rome was justified by the fact that Portugal had possessed originally a Catholic Church with national independence. Attention was drawn to early Portuguese Church Councils, especially those at Braga in 561 and 562, at which the liturgy of the Braga Rite was instituted, as, well as to several instances of resistance to papal claims in Portuguese Church history.¹¹ This claim is still set forth in the formularies of the Lusitanian Church and appears in the Preface to its Book of Common Prayer:

⁹Moreira, *Esboço*, pp. 11, 22; also, *Private Correspondence*.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 10.

¹¹*Ibid.*, pp. 9/10.

Não pretendemos fundar uma nova religião. Queremos tão somente expurgar a Religião Christã das corruções seculares, reivindicar as liberdades da primitiva Igreja Lusitana—por tanto tempo sujeita ao jugo estrangeiro de Roma—e difundir por todo este país uma doutrina *que seja católica e apostólica*, numa Igreja *portuguesa a não romana*.¹²

In the official handbook and directory of parishes, the same claim is stated:

A Igreja Lusitana é a restauração da que nos primeiros séculos do Cristianismo existiu na Lusitânia. Não ensina uma nova doutrina nem estabelece uma nova ordem eclesiástica, mas conserva, tanto na pureza da doutrina como na canonicidade da ordem, a catolicidade e apostolicidade da Igreja Cristã Primitiva.¹³

The objective was the reform and purification of Portuguese Catholicism by a return to the simplicity and independence of the early national church. How much this claim was influenced by nineteenth century Anglican thinking is difficult to determine, although the parallel is quite apparent. It can be assumed, however, that this concept did derive from Anglican sources. De Mora had studied Anglican theology at Gibraltar during his stay with the Rev. Dr. Rule, and had started a translation into Spanish of the famous commentary of Bishop Edward Harold Browne of Winchester on the Thirty-nine Articles.¹⁴ The nineteenth century Anglican theory of national churches was well expounded in that volume. The Church has never broken any essential link of Catholic continuity in doctrine, sacraments, or order. It has through years of adversity maintained the claim on which it was based. The eventual choice of the title, "Lusitana," for the Church, the ancient Latin name for Portugal, makes quite evident the theory behind the reforming movement.

The group led by de Mora was augmented by two priests who left the Roman Church and one Methodist minister, who was eventually ordained priest in the Lusitanian Church. The Rev. João Joaquin da Costa e Almeida and the Rev. Jose Nunes Chaves abandoned the Roman Church in 1870 and 1876, respectively, and were admitted to de Mora's group in November, 1879.¹⁵ The Rev. Candido Joaquin de Sousa was a Methodist minister and a member of the faculty of a Wesleyan Methodist seminary in Portugal. He was admitted along with Da Costa

¹²O Livro de Oração Comum, Terceira Edição Revista (Oporto: 1928), p. vi.

¹³Igreja Lusitana, Edição Do Sinodo Da Igreja Lusitana, p. 3. This is the official directory published by the Church.

¹⁴Moreira, *Esboço*, p. 25, and *Private Correspondence*.

¹⁵Moreira, *ibid.*, pp. 12/13, 41.

and Chaves and, after studying theology with Canon Pope of the English Church in Lisbon, was ordained deacon and priest in 1880.¹⁶ On May 30, 1880, the Rev. Henrique Ribeiro Ferreira de Albuquerque, who left the Roman Church in 1871, was admitted to de Mora's group.¹⁷ These men had led small individualistic reform movements which coalesced and found a common purpose through their association with the Rev. Angelo de Mora. By 1880, there were two congregations in Lisbon, St. Peter and St. Paul, and two missions, St. Mark and St. Joseph.¹⁸ Additional strength and encouragement was given to the reformers after 1870 from the development of the Old Catholic movement in Germany and Switzerland, and from Old Catholic by-products in France and Italy. The Lusitanian Church has never been a part of the Old Catholic movement, although there was a vague association of all non-Roman groups in the early days. Bishop Cabrera, the leader of the Spanish Reformed Church, did attend Old Catholic Congresses occasionally, but no formal relationship was ever established.¹⁹ The general development of Old Catholicism, however, gave a moral support to the Portuguese reformers.

The chief help came to the group from Anglican sources. Angelo de Mora had been strongly influenced by Anglican writers, and he looked naturally toward Anglicans for continued assistance. Fortune placed an Anglican, both sympathetic to the cause and fitted for the needs, within easy reach. The Rev. Canon Thomas Godfrey Pope, the chaplain of St. George's English Church in Lisbon, 1869-1902, became the guiding spirit.²⁰ Canon Pope was a liturgical scholar of some repute, a student of canon law, and a man of great organizing ability. He was able to supply the reformers with liturgical and constitutional material, and provided the kind of leadership which was necessary to form these zealous, but untrained, reformers into a church. With the arrival of Canon Pope, the movement ceased to be merely a negative rejection of Portuguese Roman Catholicism, and began to be a positive ecclesiastical organization—the Lusitanian Church. The aspirations now became focused upon three activities: the formulation of a constitution for self-government, the request for episcopal supervision in the administration of the sacraments of confirmation and holy orders, and the development of a liturgy native to a reformed Portuguese Catholic communion.

¹⁶Moreira, pp. 12, 41, and *Private Correspondence*.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 12, 41.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 14/5.

¹⁹C. B. Moss, *The Old Catholic Movement* (SPCK: London: 1948), p. 286.

²⁰H. F. Fulford Williams, "The British Chaplaincy at Lisbon," in *Theology*, July, 1940, pp. 45/8, and Moreira, *Esboço*, *passim*.

III. FORMATION OF IGREJA LUSITANA

Under Canon Pope's directions, the preparation of the constitution began. To obtain episcopal supervision necessary for the maintenance of Catholic life, the reformers had joined with their brethren of the Spanish Reformed Church in petitioning the Church of England for the consecration of a bishop. The Church of England hesitated to take any action in this matter, since intervention by a state church in the affairs of another foreign country might have some political connotation. The petition was, therefore, passed on to the Lambeth Conference of 1878 in the hope that some portion of the Anglican Communion having no state connection might take the initiative. *The Report of the Committee on the position of Anglican Chaplains and Chaplaincies on the Continent of Europe* contained one practical suggestion:

That your Committee, having carefully considered a Memorial addressed to the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church of England by four Priests and certain other persons of "the Spanish and Portuguese Reformed Episcopal Church," praying for the consecration of a Bishop, cannot but express their hearty sympathy with the Memorialists in the difficulties of their position; and, having heard a statement on the subject of the proposed extension of the Episcopate to Mexico by the American Church, they venture to suggest that when a Bishop shall have been consecrated by the American Church for Mexico, he might be induced to visit Spain and Portugal, and render such assistance, at this stage of the movement, as may seem to him practicable and advisable.²¹

A national independent Church had existed in Mexico since 1869, and in 1879 the American Episcopal Church consecrated Henry Chauncey Riley to be bishop of this body with the title, The Bishop of Mexico Valley.²² Here was a situation analogous to the Spanish and Portuguese movements both in origin and ethnic background. It was felt that episcopal supervision, and possibly the episcopate, might be derived from this source. Bishop Riley, acting under this vague commission from the Lambeth Conference of 1878, visited Portugal in 1880.²³ The visit served to strengthen the reformers and was used for the occasion of drawing up the constitution. Bishop Riley was not able

²¹*The Five Lambeth Conferences*, compiled by Randall T. Davidson (SPCK: London: 1920), p. 93.

²²W. W. Manross, *A History of the American Episcopal Church* (Morehouse-Gorham, N. Y.: 1935), p. 342.

²³Moreira, *Esboço*, pp. 7, 26. Cf. also R. T. Davidson, *Life of Archibald Campbell Tait* (London: 1891), Vol. 2, p. 523. Extract from "Diary of . . .," December 14, 1879, regarding a visit from Bishop Riley.

to give any sustained supervision, for in 1883, as a result of a disagreement with the Board of Missions regarding his management of the Church of Mexico Valley, he was asked to resign his jurisdiction by the American House of Bishops,²⁴ and in October, 1889, was forbidden to exercise any jurisdiction in Spain or Portugal.²⁵

As a result of this failure, the archbishop of Canterbury turned to the bishops of the Church of Ireland, which had been disestablished in 1869, asking them to take the problem under their consideration.²⁶ The archbishop of Dublin, Lord Plunket, was especially interested, and through his efforts the stabilization of the reform movements in both Spain and Portugal was effected.

There emerged a provisional council of Irish bishops to supervise the Church in Portugal as well as in Spain, and to provide for the administration of the sacraments of confirmation and holy orders. The Synod of the Church was to act under and in cooperation with this Provisional Council of Bishops. The terms of the compact were:

We shall require an affirmation by the Synods of these Churches of guarantees similar to those which of their own accord they offered in the year 1883, and which were to the following effect—

(1) That until they shall have, in each case, three bishops of their own, there shall be associated with their own bishop or bishops a provisional council consisting of two or three bishops of the Church of Ireland.

(2) That during the same interval the Synod of each Church shall be pledged—

(a) Not to permit the election or consecration of any bishop for the said Church without the written consent of the provisional council of bishops;

(b) Not to alter or add to the doctrines, formularies, or discipline of the said Church without the previous approval of the provisional council.

(c) To submit for the examination and sanction of the provisional council every resolution of a fundamental character that may be proposed for adoption by a future Synod.²⁷

Acting under this arrangement, Lord Plunket visited Portugal in 1884 and 1889. In 1895, Bishop Cabrera of the Spanish Reformed Church, who had been consecrated by Lord Plunket, visited Portugal as the deputy of the Irish bishops. Visitations were made by the bishop of Clogher in 1899, the bishop of Down and Connor in 1905, the

²⁴*The Journal of the General Convention, 1883*, pp. 455/8.

²⁵F. D. How, *William Conyngham Plunket, op. cit.*, p. 247.

²⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 214/5.

²⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 273/4.

bishop of Clogher in 1910, Bishop Cabrera in 1911, and the bishop of Derry in 1913.²⁸ In 1922, Bishop Ingram of London performed the visitation and in 1931, 1935, 1937, 1946, and 1949, the Most Rev. Dr. John A. F. Gregg, archbishop of Armagh and primate of the Church of Ireland, made successive visitations.²⁹ The two periods, 1922-1931 and 1937-1946, mark out those times of special isolation of the Lusitanian Church. The growth of the Church through the administration of confirmation and holy orders, while extremely slow, has been both valid and regular.

IV. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

In November, 1879, the first synod of the Church was held and the constitution instituted.³⁰ A doctrinal standard was set in the acceptance of XXXIX Articles of Religion, and a commission to prepare a Book of Common Prayer for uniform liturgical worship was appointed. Canon Pope occupied the chair as president of the Synod, which office he held until 1902. A priest of the Anglican Communion thus officially directed the affairs of the Church for twenty-two years, and was responsible for the tone and character of its life. At this time, the Spanish name of the group was dropped, and the movement emerged as the Igreja Lusitana. To the little group in Lisbon of four priests and Canon Pope were now added two congregations from Oporto and Vila Nova de Gaia, the twin cities on the northern coast of Portugal at the center of the port wine business. These are of particular interest since they also arose from Anglican initiative.

In Vila Nova de Gaia were two British wine merchants, James and Andrew Cassels. Impelled by an evangelical distrust of Roman Catholicism, they had started Sunday school groups in their own homes, which developed into congregations. At their own expense, they built two churches in Vila Nova de Gaia and Oporto to house these groups. There was no official connection between these independent missions and the Church of England, even though the Cassels brothers were communicants of the Church of England. These two congregations came into the Lusitanian Church, and the two men received holy orders for work there. James Cassels was ordained deacon in 1884, and priest in 1892, by Lord Plunket. Andrew Cassels was ordained deacon in 1890 by Lord Plunket, and priest in 1895 by Bishop Cabrera, acting for

²⁸Moreira, *Esboço*, p. 28.

²⁹*Ibid.*, p. 28, and *Private Correspondence*.

³⁰*Ibid.*, p. 8.

the Irish bishops.⁸¹ A third British resident in the wine business at Oporto was Frederick W. Flower. He was ordained deacon in 1901, and priest in 1910, by Bishop Cabrera, and placed in charge of the Oporto congregation.⁸² Here were three Englishmen who received Anglican orders for work in the Lusitanian Church.

From 1880 to 1912, there was a steady growth. The presence of Canon Pope in Lisbon, the accession of James and Andrew Cassels and Frederick Flower in Oporto and Vila Nova de Gaia, had brought to the Church men for the ministry, congregations already formed, and some Anglican support. Since that time, growth has been extremely slow, and parishes have been established only as men offered themselves for the ministry. Recruiting for the ministry and training men for its work was given some impetus in 1903 when a theological college was opened in Vila Nova de Gaia. The Rev. Dr. John M. Harden of St. John's, Highgate, came to Portugal as principal.⁸³ As a result of this educational effort, Elias Jose dos Santos was ordained deacon in 1905; Armando Pereira de Araujo and Antonio Ferreira Fiandor were ordained deacons in 1908 and priests in 1911; Jose Maria Leite Bonaparte and Julio Bento da Silva, deacons in 1907 and priests in 1911.⁸⁴ Then the stream of accessions ceased until 1931, except for the lone ordination to the diaconate in 1922 and to the priesthood in 1924 of Augusto Nogueira.⁸⁵ Three men were ordained in the early thirties: Belarmino Jose Vieira Barata to the diaconate in 1931; Antonio Pinto Ribeiro Junior to the diaconate in 1931, and to the priesthood in 1935; and Agostinho Ferreira Arbiol to the diaconate in 1931 and priesthood in 1933.⁸⁶ From 1935 until after World War II, there was but one visit of the archbishop of Armagh and no ordinations. A sudden strong accession to the ministry followed World War II, when certain men of education and scholarly training entered the ministry: Josue Ferreira de Sousa, Jr., Dr. Daniel de Pina Cabral, and Eduardo Henriques Moreira were ordained deacons in 1947 and priests in 1949. Dr. Luis Cesar Rodriques Pereira was ordained to the diaconate in 1949.⁸⁷

At the present time, the Lusitanian Church consists of twelve members of the clergy: ten priests and two deacons. There are ten parishes and four missions. Three of the parishes are in Lisbon, one in Oporto, four in Vila Nova de Gaia, and one each in Setubal and Alcacér do Sal.

⁸¹Moreira, *Esbaco*, pp. 26/8, 31/2.

⁸²*Ibid.*, p. 41.

⁸³*Ibid.*, pp. 34/5, and *Private Correspondence*.

⁸⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 34/5, 41.

⁸⁵*Ibid.*, p. 41.

⁸⁶*Ibid.*, p. 41.

⁸⁷*Ibid.*, p. 41, and *Private Correspondence*.

There are missions in Evora, Porto, Gondomar and Seixal.³⁸ The total communicant strength is about eleven hundred, although during the 1949 episcopal visitation ninety-six candidates were confirmed.

Five priests have served terms as president of the Synod: the Rev. Canon Godfrey Pope was president from 1879 to 1902; the Rev. Candida J. de Sousa, 1902-1905; the Rev. Joaquim dos Santos Figueiredo, 1905-1937; the Rev. Frederick W. Flower, 1937-1939; and since 1939, the Rev. Antonio Ferreira Fiandor.³⁹ Canon Pope was an Anglican priest, and the Rev. Frederick Flower was an Anglican layman ordained to the priesthood of the Lusitanian Church. The Rev. Candido de Sousa was a former Methodist minister, trained by Canon Pope for the priesthood of the Lusitanian Church. The Rev. Joaquim dos Santos Figueiredo was a former Roman priest. The Rev. Antonio Fiandor was trained for the ministry at the theological college conducted by the Rev. Dr. John M. Harden. The strength of the Anglican contribution through these men is very marked.

The Rev. Juan de Cabrera was consecrated a bishop for the Spanish Reformed Church by Lord Plunket in 1894. No further consecrations were ever performed by the Irish bishops and, according to the terms of the compact, Bishop Cabrera was prevented from consecrating any bishops himself except with the permission of the Provisional Council of Irish Bishops.⁴⁰ The Lusitanian Church has never been given a bishop, although on two occasions priests were elected by the Synod. The Rev. Canon Pope was elected in 1894, and the Rev. Joaquim Figueiredo in 1922.⁴¹ Canon Pope did not favor his own consecration, since he felt that a native Portuguese should be the first bishop. Hesitation to extend the episcopate has been somewhat conditioned from the Anglican side by fears as to the size and permanence of the communion.

Lacking a regular theological college and other educational institutions, and isolated from Portuguese life by the established religion, the evangelistic fervor of the Lusitanian Church has been somewhat curbed. It has not been easy to present the claims or even the existence of the Church to the Portuguese public. From time to time, the

³⁸The parishes and missions consist of:

Lisbon: Igreja Lusitana de S. Pedro; Igreja Lusitana de S. Paulo; Igreja Lusitana de Jesus. *Oporto*: Igreja Lusitana do Redentor; *Vila Nova de Gaia*: Igreja Lusitana de S. Joao Evangelista; Igreja Lusitana do Salvador do Mundo; Igreja Lusitana do Bom Pastor; Igreja Lusitana de Cristo. *Setubal*: Igreja Lusitana do Espirito Santo. *Alcacer do Sal*: Igreja Lusitana de Cristo Remidor. *Evora*: Missão Evangélica dos Martires da Fé. *Oporto*: Missão Evangélica de Santo Estêvão. *Gondomar*: Missão Evangélica de Santiago Apóstolo. *Seixal*: Missão Evangélica de Santo André.

³⁹Moreira, *Esboço, passim*, and *Igreja Lusitana* (Lisbon: May, 1939).

⁴⁰F. D. How, *William Conyngham Plunket*, pp. 273/4.

⁴¹Moreira, *Esboço*, p. 41.

Lusitanian Church has maintained publications, *O Evangelista* and *O Cristao Lusitana* being the most notable.⁴² In 1948, after a lapse of considerable years, an official journal, *Ecclesia*, was published.⁴³ It contains articles of a theological and devotional nature, as well as news items. The literary output of the Church has not been very great. The chief publication, perhaps, was a history by James Cassels, *A Reforma em Portugal*, published in Oporto in 1906.⁴⁴ In 1949, the Synod issued a small official history, *Esboço da Historia da Igreja Lusitana* by the Rev. Eduardo H. Moreira, a recent ordinand to the priesthood.

On June 22-25, 1939, under the synod presidency of the Rev. Frederick W. Flower, a congress of the Lusitanian Church was held. It was attended by the clergy, two hundred lay delegates, and representatives of some non-Roman Portuguese denominations. Lectures, discussions, and corporate acts of worship filled the program and a commemorative booklet was issued.⁴⁵ The war years, however, prevented any continuation of this work. Under the presidency of the Rev. Antonio F. Fiandor, evangelistic work has gained a new life and found new outlets. *Ecclesia* has been published, a history of the Church issued, a catechism of Christian doctrine edited by the Rev. A. Pinto Ribeiro, Jr., authorized by the synod.⁴⁶ Reports from Portugal indicate that *Ecclesia* has done much to inform the general public of the existence of a reformed Catholic communion, distinguished from either Roman Catholicism or foreign Protestantism. The 400th anniversary of the Book of Common Prayer was observed on Sunday, June 19, 1949, with special services and commemorative addresses in Lisbon, Setubal, Oporto, and Vila Nova de Gaia.⁴⁷ Additional theological conferences are planned for the future.

In 1880, there was founded in England, the Spanish and Portuguese Church Aid Society for the support of the Lusitanian and Spanish Reformed Churches. Through the work of this society, assistance has been provided for the erection of church buildings and the distribution of religious literature. The theological training provided by the Rev. Dr. John M. Harden was financed by this organization. The Rev. Dr. Thomas J. Pulvertaft was secretary for many years, and was then succeeded by the Rev. Canon F. Bate.⁴⁸ In 1949, the Rev. A. W. Goodwin Hudson took this office. The Society includes among its members the

⁴²*Igreja Lusitana*, May, 1939, p. 1.

⁴³*Ecclesia*, Orgão Oficial Da Igreja Lusitana Católica Apostólica Evangelica, edited by Eduardo H. Moreira.

⁴⁴Moreira, *Esboço*, p. 38.

⁴⁵*Igreja Lusitana*, edited by Belarmino J. Barata (Lisbon: 1939).

⁴⁶*Catecismo De Doutrina Cristã*, pelo Rev. A. Pinto Ribeiro, Jr. (Edicao do Sinodo da Igreja Lusitana: 1949).

⁴⁷*Private Correspondence*, and official announcements.

⁴⁸Moreira, *Esboço*, pp. 28/9.

Provisional Council of Irish Bishops, and has been the chief agency for uniting the Lusitanian and Spanish Reformed Churches to the Anglican Communion. A regular publication, *Light and Truth*, contains much information regarding the work of the Churches.⁴⁹ This support has been entirely unofficial and voluntary. There has been no planned missionary assistance given to the Lusitanian Church by any portion of the Anglican Communion.

V. DOCTRINAL STANDARDS

The doctrinal standards of the Lusitanian Church can be described as Anglican. The original founders of the Church were former Roman priests who had come under the influence of Anglican theology. The long synod presidency of Canon Pope contributed to the continuation of this initial impulse. The Cassels brothers and Frederick Flower were Anglican laymen before they were Lusitanian priests. The only regular theological school ever sustained was conducted by the Rev. Dr. John M. Harden, a priest of the Church of England. Many of the present day priests were trained under Dr. Harden. The Provisional Council of Irish Bishops has, by the terms of the compact, final authority over any resolutions of a fundamental character proposed in the Synod of the Lusitanian Church, and no changes in the original formularies can be made except with the permission of this Council. The overseas aid for the Church has been provided by an Anglican missionary group, the Spanish and Portuguese Church Aid Society. The theological influence throughout the years has been almost exclusively Anglican.

The specific character of this Anglicanism is not easy to classify. The nationalistic impulse, creating the original break with Rome, was an evangelical spirit aimed at the extreme medieval as well as the post-Tridentine development of Roman Catholicism. While the Lusitanian Church cannot be called a Protestant movement, it is most clearly an intensely evangelical movement. This has been intensified by later Anglican influences. Lord Plunket, Canon Pope, the Cassels brothers, and Frederick Flower belonged to the Evangelical or Broad Church party of the Church of England, and many of the supporters of the Lusitanian Church have been of the same churchmanship.

The widely suffused influence of Roman Catholicism in Portuguese national life has forced the emphasis on the evangelical aspect of the Lusitanian Church. Anglo-Catholic organizations in England were at

⁴⁹*Light and Truth*, Spanish and Portuguese Church Aid Society (20 John Street, London, W. C. 1, England).

first antagonistic to Anglican support of the Spanish and Portuguese reform movements, and vigorously opposed the extension of the episcopate to Juan Cabrera of the Spanish Church in 1894.⁸⁰ The fact that Anglo-Catholics in the early 1890's were hopeful of a possible reunion with Rome, a hope ended by the publication of Pope Leo XIII's *Apostolicae Curae*, helps somewhat to explain this point of view. One does not need today to examine the basis of this opposition, except to indicate that it reveals the evangelical tone of the Lusitanian Church.

The formularies of the Igreja Lusitana were copied from Anglican formularies and have been revised only to fit the special situations and needs of the country. According to the terms of the compact between the Synod of the Lusitanian Church and the Provisional Council of Irish Bishops, these formularies may only be changed with the consent of the Irish bishops. While the Lusitanian Church is given complete independence of synodical self-government, it is bound legally to the formularies of the Church of England at least as definitely, if not more so, than the autonomous churches of the Anglican Communion itself.⁸¹

The first Synod of 1879 accepted the XXXIX Articles of Religion, which are printed in *O Livro de Oracao comun as Artigos de Fe*.⁸² These are the XXXIX Articles of the Church of England, revised to remove the political references which would be unsuitable to Portugal. These changes are very much in accord with those made by the American Episcopal Church. The XXI Article of Religion, *Da Autoridade Dos Concilios Gerais*, removes the reference to "Princes" and substitutes "das autoridades competentes." The XXXV Article, *Das Homilias*, omits the list of homilies and states that "Os dois tômos das homilias da Igreja contêm doutrina pia, saudável e necessária." The XXXVI Article, *Da Consagração de Bispos e Ministros*, is shortened by omission of all references to the King and Parliament. The XXXVII Article, *Dos Magistrados Civis*, is likewise greatly shortened by the omission of all political references. Except for these revisions, there are no changes of a doctrinal or disciplinary character.

⁸⁰F. D. How, *William Conynham Plunket*, *op. cit.*, p. 276.

⁸¹The legal formularies of the autonomous provinces of the Anglican Communion contain formal assertions of loyalty to the formularies of the Church of England and specify the limitations of change and revision. Cf. L. A. Haselmayer, *Lambeth and Unity* (Morehouse-Gorham, N. Y.: 1948), pp. 49-60. But no autonomous province of the Anglican Communion is required to submit any constitutional or doctrinal change to any tribunal beyond its provincial boundaries. In practice, these changes would ordinarily be presented to the Lambeth Conferences for counsel as has been done with all reunion schemes involving doctrinal and ministerial readjustments. This is done because of the moral unity of the Anglican Communion, and not from any legal compulsion.

⁸²*O Livro de Oração Comum, Terceira Edição Revista* (Oporto: 1928), pp. 394/409.

O Livro de Oração Comun does not contain a catechism. A *Catecismo de Doutrina Cristã* was issued by the Synod of the Lusitanian Church in 1949, and may therefore be regarded as an official formulary.⁸³ It consists of seven sections on God, Religion, Sin and Eternal Salvation, Good Works, the Church, the Sacraments and Venerable Rites, and the Holy Scriptures. It is entirely orthodox in teaching and reveals the influence of Anglican catechisms. The section on the sacraments sets forth Holy Baptism and Holy Communion in traditionally orthodox terms, and, under the title, "Veneráveis Rites," provides for confirmation, holy matrimony, and orders.⁸⁴ The omission of penance and unction is somewhat surprising since Article XXV follows the Anglican source in listing these.⁸⁵ The power of absolution is set forth in the Ordinal in the form for the priesthood,⁸⁶ and a rubric of the *Visita aos Enfermos* follows the English form providing for the hearing of a special confession of sins.⁸⁷

The Artigos de Fé accept the Apostles', Nicene, and Athanasian Creeds, all of which are printed for use in *O Livro de Oração Comun*. A note appended to the recent *Catecismo* specifies the use, in addition to the catechetical material, of the Lord's Prayer, Ten Commandments, and Apostles' Creed, explanations of which are not included.⁸⁸

The threefold ministry is accepted in all Lusitanian formularies. The second order of the ministry is consistently called "presbíteros," and the person "presbítero." Just what is involved in the use of this word is difficult to determine. There is no indication in any formulary of the Church or in the rubrical directions of the liturgy that this office is not identical with "priesthood." But the fact remains that the three offices are entitled "Bishop, presbyter and deacon." The Ordinal included in *O Livro de Oração Comun* is an almost faithful translation of the Anglican Ordinal. The changes are chiefly liturgical and constitutional rather than doctrinal.

The preface to the Ordinal reproduces the first and second paragraphs of the English Ordinal concerning the necessity of the offices of

⁸³*Catecismo de Doutrina Cristã*, pelo Rev. A. Pinto Ribeiro, Jr. (Presbíteros). Destinado à Instrução Religiosa dos Alunos das Escolas Primárias da Igreja Lusitana Católica Apostólica Evangélica. 1949. Edição do Sínodo da Igreja Lusitana.

⁸⁴*Ibid.*, p. 23, questions 8, 9, 10, 11.

⁸⁵*O Livro de Oração Comun*, *op. cit.*, p. 404. "Os outros cinco, a que alguns vulgar mas, erradamente chamam sacramentos, a saber: Confirmação, Penitência, Extrema-Unção, Ordem e Matrimônio . . ."

⁸⁶*Ibid.*, p. 374. "Aqueles a quem perdoardes os pecados, ser-hes hão perdoados: e àqueles a quem os retiverdes, ser-ilhes, hão retidos."

⁸⁷*Ibid.*, p. 330.

⁸⁸*Catecismo de Doutrina Cristã*, *op. cit.*, p. 27. "Além da matéria deste catecismo, os alunos devem aprender de cor o Pai Nosso, ou Oração Dominical, o Credo dos Apóstolos e os Dez Mandamentos da lei de Deus.

bishop, priest, and deacon and the required canonical ages. The third paragraph of the English Ordinal is omitted.⁵⁹

The ordination to the diaconate follows. The rubric requiring a sermon on the necessity of this order in the Church of Christ is omitted. The sermon is placed after the Nicene Creed, with the simple direction that it "tratará do ofício de deveres do diaconato."⁶⁰ The litany is omitted. In addition to the epistle and gospel, a prophecy from Ezekiel 38:7-11 is included. The use of the prophecy in the Lusitanian liturgy will be more fully commented upon in the section of this essay dealing with liturgical worship. The collect, epistle and gospel are the same selections as those in the Anglican Ordinal. The epistle is followed by an oath of loyalty, in which the candidate abjures any authority of the bishop of Rome and affirms the "legitimate independency of the Lusitanian Church." This oath of loyalty appears in the ordination of priests and consecration of bishops, clearly asserting the primary claim of the Lusitanian Church to catholic independence:

Eu, F . . . , declaro que nem o bispo de Roma, nem qualquer outro prelado estrangeiro, tem, nem pôde ter, qualquer jurisdição, poder, superioridade, ou autoridade eclesiástica ou espiritual, legítima, na Igreja Lusitana, Católica, Apostólica, Evangélica. E sustento que a dita Igreja Lusitana tem, e goza por direito, independência, jurisdição e autoridade, conforme o ensino das Sagradas Escrituras, a prática primitiva e os cânones dos antigos concílios.⁶¹

The remainder of the office is practically identical with the Anglican. There is an interesting rubric following the delivery of the Bible, which directs that a black stole or scarf be placed deaconwise on the candidate.⁶² The exclusive use of the black scarf as an indication of the diaconal and priestly offices is regarded in Portugal as one of the influences of the ancient Rite of Braga.⁶³

The ordinal for the priesthood omits the opening rubric on the sermon, placing it after the Nicene Creed with the direction that it "tratará do ofício e deveres inherentes ao presbiterato."⁶⁴ The collect,

⁵⁹Cf. similar changes in the 2nd and 3rd paragraphs in the preface to the Ordinal of the American Book of Common Prayer.

⁶⁰*O Livro de Oração Comum, op. cit.*, p. 354.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, p. 359.

⁶²*Ibid.*, p. 361. "O bispo, ajudado por um presbitero, porá a estola sobre o ombro esquerdo de cada um dos recém—ordenados, passando—a e unindo—a debaixo do braco direito."

⁶³*Private Correspondence*. Both the black scarf and the ankle-length surplice, used by the clergy of the Lusitanian Church, which suggest 19th century evangelical ceremonial to an Anglican, are held to be revivals of the primitive customs of the Braga Rite.

⁶⁴*O Livro de Oração Comum, op. cit.*, p. 375.

epistle, and gospel are identical with the Anglican selections. The litany is omitted, and a prophecy from Ezekiel 3:17-21 is included. The oath of legitimate independency is administered after the reading of the gospel. The remainder of the ordinal follows the Anglican. The form to accompany the imposition of hands is a translation of the Anglican, containing the reference to priestly absolution. Curiously enough, an alternative form omitting this reference is also provided.⁶⁵ This is a parallel to the alternate form for the priesthood in the American Book of Common Prayer. It is cast, however, into an invocation rather than a declaration.

The office for the consecration of a bishop follows faithfully the Anglican form except for certain constitutional insertions and one liturgical alternative. The careful regulations of the compact between the Lusitanian Synod and the Provisional Council of Irish Bishops is reflected in the opening rubric: "O bispo oficiante, ou qualquer outro bispo nomeado pelo Conselho dos Bispos."⁶⁶ This re-appears in the rubric concerning the testimonials of election:

"Então o bispo oficiante fará lêr o documento de onde conste a eleição do que vai ser sagrado, feita pelo Sinodo Diocesano, aprovada pelo Sinodo Geral e sancionada pelo Conselho dos Bispos."⁶⁷

Finally, in the oath of loyalty, after the abjuration of the bishop of Rome and the assertion of the "proper and legitimate independence jurisdiction and authority of the Lusitanian Church," the candidate "solenemente professo e prometo a reverência e obediência devidas aos Cânones, ao Sinodo Geral e ao Conselho dos Bispos da Igreja Lusitana, Católica, Apostólica, Evangélica."⁶⁸ At the imposition of hands, two forms are provided. One follows the Anglican forms, "Receive the Holy Ghost" The other is a somewhat verbose prayer asking God to send through his Holy Spirit the office of bishop upon the candidate.⁶⁹

⁶⁵*O Livro de Oração Comum, op. cit.*, p. 374. "O Omnipotente Deus de conceda o dom do Espírito Santo para o ofício e ministério de presbítero na Igreja de Deus, que agora se te comete pela imposição das nossas mãos. E se fiel dispensador da Palavra de Deus e dos seus santos sacramentos; Em Nome do Pai e do Filho e do Espírito Santa."

⁶⁶*Ibid.*, p. 377.

⁶⁷*Ibid.*, p. 381.

⁶⁸*Ibid.*, p. 381.

⁶⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 386/7. "O Omnipotente Deus te conceda o dom do Espírito Santo para o ofício e ministério de bispo na Igreja de Deus, que agora se te comete pela imposição das nossas mãos: Em nome do Pai e do Filho e do Espírito Santo. Amen. E lembra-te de incitar a graça de Deus que to é dada: porquanto Deus não nos tem dado o espírito de temor, mas o espírito de poder, amor e sobriedade."

In all three services of ordination, the dependence upon the Anglican ordinals is obvious. In most instances, they are direct translations into Portuguese. None of the changes or omissions would seem to have any doctrinal character of a serious nature. Before leaving this material, it is interesting to note that *O Livro de Oração Comun* contains an office for the institution of a minister, which duplicates almost entirely the similar office in the American Book of Common Prayer.⁷⁰ Here is a second link between the liturgy of the Lusitanian and American Episcopal Churches.

The origin of these liturgical relations poses an interesting challenge. One recalls that Angelo de Mora spent some time in America before beginning his work in Lisbon. With his Anglican sympathies, it is quite possible that he had connections with the American Episcopal Church. An American bishop, Henry Chauncey Riley of Mexico Valley, visited Lisbon under the direction of the Lambeth Conference to assist the constitutional formation of the Lusitanian Church. He may also have made suggestions based upon American liturgical usage. The fact remains that the transient connection between the American Episcopal Church and the Lusitanian Church in 1880 has left a permanent work on *O Livro de Oração Comun*.

The examination of the doctrinal and liturgical formularies of the Lusitanian Church regarding the scriptures, the creeds, the sacraments, and the ministry indicates that the theological and disciplinary standards parallel those of the Churches of the Anglican Communion.

VI. LITURGICAL WORSHIP

The liturgical worship and forms for the administration of the sacraments of the Lusitanian Church are determined by an official Prayer Book set forth by the authority of the Synod and approved by the Provisional Council of Irish Bishops. The Synod of 1879 appointed a committee to prepare this volume. The committee consisted of the Rev. Canon Godfrey Pope, the Rev. James Cassels, the Rev. Henriques Ribeiro, and the Rev. Jose N. Chaves. The finished work was presented to and approved by the Synod of 1882, and printed for use in 1884.⁷¹ The book entitled, *O Livro de Oração Comun*, was revised in 1901 and again in 1928. This third edition revised is the present authorized text.

The Prayer Books of the Church of England and the Church of Ireland form the basis of this volume, with some apparent influence from

⁷⁰*O Livro de Oração Comun*, op. cit., pp. 389/93. "Ordem da Instituição de Ministros das Igrejas Lusitana, Católica, Apostólica, Evangélica."

⁷¹Moreira, *Esboço*, p. 29.

the Prayer Book of the American Episcopal Church. Other liturgies were studied and the preface states that all ancient Catholic as well as reformed liturgies were examined for suggestions:

Além de outras liturgias antigas, fôram compulsadas a Bracarense, a Mozarabe e a Romana, bem como as das Igrejas Anglicanas e outras Igrejas Reformadas . . .⁷²

In accord with the claim of re-affirming ancient catholic independence, the Lusitanian Church sought to revive certain usages of the ancient Portuguese Rite of Braga, as the Spanish Reformed Church attempted to revive certain usages from the Mozarabic Rite of Toledo.⁷³ These usages seem to be confined to the provision made for an Old Testament prophecy on great festivals at the Holy Communion, a litanical structure of the Prayer for the Whole State of Christ's Church Militant On Earth, a number of collects, and the ceremonial custom of the long surplice and black scarf. In general, the Lusitanian prayer book is an Anglican document. Forms are provided for morning prayer, evening prayer, an abbreviated service, the litany, Athanasian Creed, prayers and thanksgivings for special occasions, the Holy Communion, communion of the sick, adult and infant baptism, confirmation, matrimony, thanksgiving after childbirth, visitation of the sick, burial of the dead, ordination of bishops, presbyters and deacons, and institution of ministers. The prefatory material contains directions for the conduct of public worship, a table of psalms, lectionary, and kalendar. The propers for Sundays and holy days and the psalter complete the volume.

A lengthy preface defends the claim of the Lusitanian Church, its status as a catholic, apostolic, and evangelical body in Portugal, and its right to issue a national prayer book.⁷⁴

The psalter is divided into three sections for each day of the month, with a directive that the officiant use as much as is convenient.⁷⁵ This particular arrangement breaks the Anglican tradition of the orderly monthly recitation of the psalms, but is no more radical than the present permissive American system of a selected psalter.

The kalendar of Sundays and holy days is the Anglican kalendar. The Lusitanian Church follows the Church of Ireland and the American Episcopal Church in making provision for the feast of the Transfigura-

⁷²*O Livro de Oração Comun*, p. vii.

⁷³*Liturgia de la Iglesia Española Reformada* (Madrid: 1889), p. 2.

⁷⁴*O Livro de Oração Comun*, *op. cit.*, pp. iv-ix.

⁷⁵*Ibid.*, p. x. "O Saltério vai dividido em três partes para cada dia, podendo lêr-se tôdas ou parte, à discreção do ministro conforme convier."

tion on August 6th.⁷⁶ The lectionary for morning and evening prayer draws from both the English and Irish lectionaries and provides lessons from the Apocrypha as well as the Old and New Testaments.

In the propers for the Holy Communion, the Anglican selection of collects, epistles and gospels is used. Additional second collects from non-Anglican sources are provided for each of these occasions. The influence of the Rite of Braga is seen in the restoration of an Old Testament prophecy to be read before the epistle on the great feast days. This Old Testament lesson has been lost in the Anglican rites and survives in the Roman rite in such vestiges as the propers of Wednesdays and Saturdays in Embertide and the Liturgy of Holy Saturday. Prophecies are provided for Christmas, the Epiphany, Palm Sunday, Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, Easter, and Whitsunday.⁷⁷ The additional collects and the prophecies add some richness and seasonal variety to the eucharistic office of the Lusitanian Prayer Book.

The offices for morning and evening prayer are patterned on the Anglican forms, but with a great freedom in the arrangement of the parts. Morning prayer (*Oração Da Manhã*) opens with the sentences, exhortation, general confession (in two forms) and absolution.⁷⁸ The Our Father is followed by a series of seasonal prayers leading into the versicles and responses. The Venite or Te Deum is the first canticle. The selection from the psalter is succeeded by the Old Testament and New Testament lessons read without an intermediate canticle. The Benedictus or Jubilate is the second canticle, followed by the Apostles' Creed, versicles and responses, and collects.

Evening prayer (*Oração Da Tarde*) begins as does morning prayer.⁷⁹ The Magnificat or Cantate Domino precede the selection from the psalter. The Old Testament and New Testament lessons follow without any break, and are completed by the Nunc Dimittis or Deus Misereatur. The Nicene Creed is provided for evening prayer, and the conclusion of the office follows the Anglican pattern. The elements of the Anglican services appear in a somewhat confused and reorganized scheme. The exact liturgical aim of these changes is not very apparent.

Provision is made for an abbreviated service (*Serviço Abreviado*) to be used separately or in addition to morning and evening prayer.⁸⁰ This

⁷⁶The collect and gospel are not those of the Irish Prayer Book, and the epistle is a slightly different selection of verses from II Peter 1.

⁷⁷The selections are: Christmas, Isaiah 52:7-10; Epiphany, Isaiah 60:1-5; Palm Sunday, Zachariah 9:9-11; Maundy Thursday, Isaiah 50:5-11; Good Friday, Isaiah 63:1-9; Easter, Hosea 5:15-6:6; Whitsunday, Apocalypse 22:6-17.

⁷⁸*O Livro de Oração Comum, op. cit.*, pp. 3-20.

⁷⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 21-38.

⁸⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 39-45.

includes the recitation of the Decalogue with responses in the form in which it appears at the opening of the Anglican service of the Holy Communion, and a general intercession in litanical form. The epistle and gospel for the day may be read at this service. The regular litany (Ladainha) and the Athanasian Creed are the next sections of the book.⁸¹ The Athanasian Creed is to be said in place of the Apostles' Creed at morning prayer on Christmas, the Epiphany, Easter, Ascension, Whitsunday, and Trinity Sunday. The regular use of the three traditional creeds of Catholic Christendom is well anchored into the liturgical worship of the Church.

The service of the Holy Communion (Da Ceia Do Senhor, Eucaristia ou Sagrada Comunhão) follows the Anglican pattern.⁸² It opens with a set of versicles and responses, leading into the Kyrie, Our Father, and a series of seasonal penitential prayers. The Decalogue is not used in the Holy Communion and appears in the abbreviated service instead. Then follow the collects, prophecy (when used), epistle, gospel, and Nicene Creed. A brief exhortation to communion appears after the creed. Adequate rubrical provisions for the offertory-action are given.⁸³ Two colecta do ofertório, asking for the acceptance of the oblations are an addition to the Anglican liturgy at this point.⁸⁴ The second of these, while somewhat long, merits full quotation for the completeness of the offertory-action which is set forth:

O' Deus de rectidão, Deus de misericórdia, Deus de imortalidade e de vida, Deus de esplendor e de glória: humildemente te pedimos que nos ajudes com a tua graça, enquanto celebramos a comemoração que teu Filho nos mandou e separamos êstes teus dons, pão e vinho, para recordação do sacrifício, que Ele ofereceu uma só vez na cruz. Damos-te graças porque o enviaste ao mundo para viver, morrer e ressugir por nós; para ser única propiciação, único medianeiro e única esperança nossa. E te pedimos que por tua clemência, pelos méritos e morte dEle e pela fé no seu sangue, nós e toda a tua Igreja alcancemos remissão dos nossos pecados e todos os mais benefícios da sua paixão. E aqui, Senhor, te dedicamos e apresentamos nossos corpos e almas, como sacrifício racional, santo e vivo, rogando-te humildemente que aceites êste nosso sacrifício espiritual de louvor e accões de graças e concedas que nos, confiados no teu amor e confortados pela tua graça, sejamos admitidos no gozo sempiterno e inefável: mediante o mesmo Jesus Cristo, Nosso Salvador. Amen.⁸⁵

⁸¹O Livro de Oração Comun, op. cit., pp. 46-57.

⁸²Ibid., pp. 69-98.

⁸³Ibid., p. 82, 1st rubric.

⁸⁴Ibid., pp. 82/3.

⁸⁵Ibid., p. 83.

The exhortation, general confession and absolution follow the offertory collects. The prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church Militant on earth is arranged in a litanical structure, the people answering, "Ouvre os nossos rogos, bom Senhor," after each paragraph. The priest then says, "Peace be with you," and recites a collect for peace. A series of scriptural quotations on the theme of the love of God appears as versicles and responses between the priest and people. The sursum corda, preface, and sanctus follow immediately. Proper prefaces are given for seasonal periods: Advent, Christmas to Septuagesima, Septuagesima to Lent, Lent to Palm Sunday, Holy Week, Easter to Ascension, Ascension to Whitsunday, Whitsunday to Trinity Sunday, and Trinitytide. A form of the prayer of humble access is used after the sanctus. The shortened prayer of consecration of the English and Irish Prayer Books is expanded by an addition containing both an oblation and an invocation:

Portanto, ó Pai celeste, nós, teus humildes servos, ao comer-mos êste pão, e ao bebermos êste cálice, conforme o mandamento do teu amado Filho, desejamos anunciar a sua morte, até que Ele venha, recordando a sua bendita paixão, preciosa morte, poderosa ressurreição e ascensão e dar-te muito sinceras graças pelas inumeráveis bênçãos, que dEle temos recebido. Dâñmos, pois, o teu Espírito Santo, para que, indignos como sômos, de apanhar as migalhas caídas da tua mesa, possamos chegar dignamente a êste banquete celestial, e participar desta santa comunhão, alimentando-nos por fé, espiritualmente e duma maneira celestial do Santíssimo Corpo de Sangue do teu querido Filho, o qual, compandecendo-se da nossa ignorância e fraqueza, mandou que te invocássemos, dizendo.⁸⁶

The Our Father is followed by a form of the ancient Libera me, omitting the reference to the saints. The antiphon, "Christ our Paschal Victim," precedes the administration of the sacrament for which the Anglican wording is used. A short exhortation, the Gloria in Excelsis, two prayers of thanksgiving, and the blessing complete the office. A service which is basically Anglican in content and arrangement has been revised by a number of insertions at various points. Some of these are happy improvements upon the Anglican rite, making more explicit the implied action. Other changes seem to introduce an unliturgical and extraneous amount of exhortation and scriptural quotation.

The forms for the administration of the other sacraments and rites follow closely the Anglican models, and do not require any specific analysis.⁸⁷

⁸⁶O Livro Oração Comum, *op. cit.*, pp. 92/3.

⁸⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 273/353.

The Prayer Book of the Lusitanian Church departs more radically from Anglican usages than any of the provincial Prayer Books, with the exception of the permissive Indian liturgy of the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon. But the departures are made from a basically Anglican text. There are no revisions or interpolations which suggest any essential difference of doctrine, discipline, or worship from the Churches of the Anglican Communion.

Out of a nationalistic reaction against Portuguese Roman Catholicism developed the Lusitanian Church. Because of circumstances, this movement took on the character of an Anglican Church. The interest of individual Anglicans gave the Church a liturgy, doctrinal standard, and disciplinary practice based upon Anglican tradition. A loose constitutional arrangement placed this Church under Anglican supervision. To-day in Portugal there exists an ecclesiastical body which is linked to Anglicanism by orders, worship, and doctrine. It forms a Church "associated," but not in formal communion, with the Churches of the Anglican Communion.

MONASTICISM IN STAINED GLASS: A HISTORICAL SURVEY

*By Robert Cheney Smith, SSJE**

IN the Chapel of the Monastery of Saint Mary and Saint John in Cambridge, Massachusetts, which is the mother house of the American Congregation of the Society of Saint John the Evangelist, a series of sixteen clerestory windows has recently been installed. Each window depicts a man of prominence in the story of the development of religious communities, and I am utilizing these windows to form the outline of this essay.

THE MEANING OF THE RELIGIOUS LIFE

But before turning to this outline in stained glass, it will perhaps be in order to consider briefly something of the theoretical side of this phenomenon commonly called "monasticism" or "the religious life." The pursuit of the religious life seems to stem from certain ascetical or mystical traits in some men and women, which impel them to embrace a life of renunciation and special dedication. Estimates of this monastic ideal have ranged all the way from the most extravagant panegyrics on the glories of the religious state, to the most violent denunciations of the religious life as being an utter perversion of the true end of man. Perhaps the true evaluation lies somewhere between these two extremes.

The system has, of course, by no means been confined to Christianity. Long before the founding of the Christian Church, a highly organized form of monasticism existed in India. It still remains an important aspect of Buddhism. In ancient Judaism, the monastic principle was observed by the Essenes before the birth of Christ.

In spite of these pre-Christian antecedents, however, the Christian monk has always looked to Christ as the inspiration and ideal of his life. Christian monasticism quotes three sayings of Jesus as proof texts to justify its existence. The first is Luke 14:26, "If any man come to me, and hate not his father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple." The second is our Lord's injunction to the rich young man

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in Mark 10:21, "One thing thou lackest: go thy way, sell whatsoever thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven: and come, take up the cross, and follow me." The third is found in Matthew 19:12, "For there are some eunuchs, which were so born from their mother's womb: and there are some eunuchs, which were made eunuchs of men; and there be eunuchs which have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake. He that is able to receive it, let him receive it."

The Christian religious has taken these words of our Lord quite literally, and from them has derived the so-called "evangelical counsels" or "the counsels of perfection" expressed in the vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. By poverty the religious renounces all claim to personal wealth in any form. By chastity he renounces marriage, consecrating his natural affections and desires to God's service. By obedience he pledges himself to the faithful observance of his rule and the commands of his superior.

In a way it is no exaggeration to state that Christ himself observed these counsels in his earthly life, and certain of his immediate followers seem to have emulated his example. At an early date some Christians were abstaining from marriage, observing asceticism in matters pertaining to food and drink, and engaging in charitable works. At the start these good works were performed within the Christian fellowship itself, but in the course of time men and women began to withdraw from society altogether. There are perhaps two explanations for this change. First, many Christians became more and more revolted by the surrounding paganism. Secondly, many were disturbed by the lowering of the tone of Christianity as a consequence of the influx of vast numbers of ill-prepared converts. So began the trek to the deserts of Egypt.

THE SIXTEEN WINDOWS

That brings me to the First Window which depicts Saint Anthony. Though Anthony is often referred to as the father of Christian monasticism, it is doubtful that he was actually the first Christian to embrace the life of a recluse. There is probably good foundation for the tradition that Paul of Alexandria, who fled during the Decian Persecution (249-250), had already embraced the role of a hermit in the Egyptian desert when Anthony contacted him there years later. In 270, Anthony, then about twenty years old, began to pursue an ascetical existence in Koma, his native village in central Egypt. Some fifteen years later, he retired alone to a deserted fort beside the Nile and remained there for twenty

years, during which he never saw a human face. He practiced the strictest forms of self-denial and prayed much. In time his fame became widespread, and many others imitated him in nearby caves. Finally, in response to the entreaties of his would-be disciples, he came from his solitary retirement and began to organize the life of the ascetics who had mushroomed around his abode. This act may be labeled as the formal beginning of Christian monasticism.

So we move to Window Two, portraying Saint Pachomius. Whereas Anthony's disciples pursued an eremitical life, that is, one lived in the solitude of a hermit, Pachomius inculcated a cenobitic form of monasticism, assembling his followers in communities. Pachomius established the first Christian monastery in Tabennisi, in southern Egypt, around 315. Here the monks resided in cells close together, wore a similar garb, and prayed and ate in common. It was, in short, community life under the direction of an abbot. Even women could pursue this type of religious life, and Pachomius established a convent in order to make that possible. The special feature of Pachomius' type of monasticism was a highly organized system of work, whereby the monastery was a sort of agricultural and industrial colony.

Early in the fourth century, the religious life was exported from Egypt into Syria and Asia Minor. In Syria, it sometimes assumed extravagant forms in the asceticism of the pillar hermits. I think even the most zealous advocate of the religious life today would question the efficacy of a vocation like that of Simon Stylites who, for thirty years, remained perched atop a stone pillar. In Asia Minor, monasticism tended more generally to keep its feet on the ground (in more ways than one), thanks to the sound tradition of Pachomius and the guiding hand of Basil, who labored from 360 on. Saint Basil is the subject of Window Three. The Rule of Saint Basil, still observed by monks of the Eastern Church, emphasized prayer, Scripture reading, and physical labor. As a healthy antidote to the self-centeredness which monasticism may foster, the Rule of Saint Basil encouraged the monks to assist in the care of orphans and the performance of other good works.

The good works of these religious began to attract attention, and among those observing their lives was Saint Augustine of Hippo, the subject of Window Four. In his refutation of the Manichaeans, he writes of "the tens of thousands of the faithful who, chiefly in the East and in Egypt, astonished the World by the spectacle of their perfection." Augustine, in imitation of these religious, formed a small community in Tagaste in Africa around 388. This community was not formally monastic, but the experience of this time of seclusion was the

basis of that monastic system which Augustine afterwards sketched and which bore his name. After his consecration to the episcopate, Augustine required his clergy to live with him as a religious community in celibacy, poverty, humility, and prayer. All, including Augustine himself, wore the same habit, observed the same rule, and ate at the same board. Augustine never actually composed a rule of life, properly so called, but in a long letter to a community of nuns he described in detail the nature of the life he led with his clergy in Hippo.

Though Augustine cannot be credited with the compilation of a rule, the subject of Window Five composed the most influential rule of the Church in the West. He is Saint Benedict, the father of western monasticism. About the year 500 Benedict became a hermit in a cave around Subiaco, east of Rome. Approximately thirty years later, he founded the mother monastery of the Benedictine order, the famous Monte Casino. Benedict suppressed the tendency, so conspicuous in Egypt and the East, for the monks to vie with one another in ascetical practices, commanding all to live according to his rule. Concerned with the excessive amount of monkish vagrancy, Benedict's Rule stressed stability. The monastery was to be the monk's home, and he and his community were bound to each other for life. The Rule of Saint Benedict was carried by Roman missionaries into England, Germany and France, and by the ninth century had become well-nigh universal in Western monasticism. The only place where it did not take hold was Ireland.

The great figure of Irish monasticism is Saint Columba, who is portrayed in Window Six. As Columba was closely related to some of the most powerful tribal families in Ireland, so Celtic monachism itself seems to have been affiliated with the tribal system. Interestingly enough, Celtic monasticism was in some respects similar to Egyptian and Syrian monachism in its emphasis on the eremitical life, its austerity, and its individualistic piety. After founding monasteries in Ireland, Columba crossed to Scotland, founding what was to become a flourishing community on the island of Iona. Think of the missionary zeal which flowed from Iona as its monks brought the Gospel to northern Scotland and northern England and thence onto the Continent.

Two great evangelistic efforts now converged. As Celtic missionaries moved southward, another great missionary movement northward was launched by Gregory the Great, the subject of the Seventh Window. Gregory, the abbot of the monastery of Saint Andrew which he had founded in Rome, set out from the city to undertake the conversion of Britain, but three days after his departure he was recalled to Rome and consecrated as its bishop. Unable to realize his heart's

desire, he placed on the shoulders of his friend and companion Augustine, the prior of his monastery, the task of bringing the light of Christ to the English. Augustine landed on the Island of Thanet¹ in April, 597. The following November he was consecrated to the episcopate. Augustine, the monk, became the first archbishop of Canterbury, and following him in that office the next thirty-six incumbents were all monks. Recalling, likewise, the work of Columba, the monk, in Scotland, of Patrick, the monk in Ireland, and of David, the monk, in Wales, the most hostile critic must concede the greatness of the debt to monasticism of Christianity in the British Isles.

Though Gregory the Great had been instrumental in the sowing of good seed in the British Isles, at his death the European world was in little better state than it had been before, for the barbarian hordes had plunged Europe into the throes of the Dark Ages. The modern age may scorn monasticism as abhorrent medievalism, but religious communities provided the one bright light in the story of the Middle Ages. In the seventh and eighth centuries, the Benedictine houses were the chief instrument in the Christianizing, civilizing, and education of the Teutonic races. The ninth to the fourteenth centuries have been looked upon as the golden age of monasticism. When lights were being extinguished all over the continent of Europe, the monks, by the flickering illumination of their lamps and candles, preserved the culture of a happier day. The monasteries were the schools, seminaries, music and art academies, literary establishments, hospitals, orphanages, homes for the aged, and social welfare agencies of the Medieval period.

Up to the beginning of the tenth century, we do not encounter the term "order" as applied to a religious community. An order has been defined as "an organized corporate body composed of several houses, diffused through various lands, with centralized government and objects and methods of its own."² From the tenth century on, all developments in Western monasticism followed this general definition. The first order was the famous Cluny, which was founded in 910 and exerted tremendous influence up the middle of the twelfth century.

Towards the close of the eleventh century, Saint Bruno, the subject of the Eighth Window, founded the Carthusians, an eremitical order noted for its asceticism. Of all religious communities, the Carthusians alone have never needed to be reformed, for throughout all the centuries they have maintained their original austerity. Peter the Venerable writes concerning them:

¹The Island of Thanet forms the northeast tip of the present Kent County in southeast England.

²Article on "Monasticism" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (Eleventh Edition), Vol. 18, p. 689.

"They live in separate little houses like the monks of Egypt and occupy their time in silence in reading, prayer, and working with their hands, particularly writing books. They say most of the offices in their cells, but come together in their church for vespers and matins."

At the same time that Bruno launched his new movement, a Benedictine monk named Robert founded a monastery of great strictness at Citeaux. Thus began the Cistercians, whose phenomenal growth was so rapid that in a little over a century and a half the order numbered six hundred and seventy-one houses. Not a little of the early success of the Cistercians was due to Saint Bernard, portrayed in Window Nine. With some thirty companions, Bernard entered the monastery at Citeaux not long after its inception, and went forth from it in 1115 to found the Cistercian monastery at Clairvaux, remaining its abbot until his death in 1153. A man of marked consecration and singular gifts, Bernard became the outstanding preacher of his time, and his influence reached even to the highest levels of the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

In commenting on Bernard and the Cistercians, Milman writes in his *History of Latin Christianity*:

"It was this wonderful attribute of the monastic system to renew its youth, which was the life of medieval Christianity; it was ever reverting of itself to the first principles of its constitution."⁸

True as this statement is in regard to Bernard and the Cistercians, it can be applied with equal propriety to the rise of the friars led by Saint Dominic and Saint Francis, memorialized respectively in the Tenth and Eleventh Windows. Dominic, a Spaniard, born in 1170, felt impelled to win back to the Church the heretical Cathari who were gaining the allegiance of thousands. Dominic's method was to surround himself with a group of preachers living under the so-called "Rule" of Saint Augustine of Hippo. The itinerant preachers adopted the principle of mendicancy, begging even their daily bread. Their ideal was not cloistered withdrawal but access to men in their needs.

Great honor was showered upon Dominic and his Order of Preachers, but even greater homage was bestowed upon Saint Francis and his followers. The passing of the centuries has in no way diminished the popularity of the poor man of Assisi, about whom more biographies in the English language have been written than of any other monastic saint. Francis wandered in and about his native Assisi, aiding the unfortunate and restoring churches. After the call of God was clearly heard,

⁸Henry Hart Milman, *History of Latin Christianity*, Vol. 4, p. 156.

he pledged himself to absolute poverty and to the preaching of repentance. When men joined him, Francis drew up a simple rule of life and sent his friars abroad two by two to preach, to aid the peasants in their toil, and to minister to the poor, the sick, the ignorant, and the downtrodden. It was the devoted service of the friars living in brotherly relations with the world, together with the consecrated lives of the monks and nuns in their cloisters, that made the thirteenth century the heyday of monasticism in the West.

It is to be regretted that the religious communities did not maintain the high ideals with which they invariably began. Towards the end of the thirteenth century, a falling away from their first love already became sadly apparent. The great wave of secularity which swept over the Church in the fourteenth century spread its pernicious influence through the walls of monasteries and convents and through the habits of their inmates. Religious zeal subsided, scholarship declined, discipline was relaxed, wealth and the consequent love of luxury increased, bitter rivalries broke out, particularly between the Franciscans and Dominicans. During the first half of the fifteenth century, efforts at reform were initiated in all the orders. Sometimes reforms were effected. In other houses no improvement was accomplished. It was in these unreformed religious communities where abuses continued that the reformers found their chief points of attack against the old religion. The Reformation, and the consequent wars of the holy and unholy, destroyed religious communities of all kinds in the British Isles and in northern Europe, and seriously crippled them in central Europe.

As Dominic arose to combat the threat of the Cathari in the twelfth century, so another Spaniard, Saint Ignatius of Loyola, who is portrayed in Window Twelve, came forward in the sixteenth century to erect the Society of Jesus as the advance guard of the Counter Reformation. The Jesuits were disciplined men, drilled in the "Spiritual Exercises," who pledged complete obedience to the will of God as made known to them by their superior. Their chief agencies were preaching, the confessional, schools, and foreign missions. The Society of Jesus spread rapidly in Italy, Spain, and Portugal, more slowly in France and Germany. A Society which thus assumed such an international character speedily became a force in political life. It was the Jesuits' abuse of this power, displayed in interference in political life, that ultimately brought grave setbacks. The King of Portugal enforced their deportation from all Portuguese territory. They were suppressed in France and expelled from Spain and Naples. The rulers of these lands forced Pope Clement XIV to abolish the order in 1773, and this act of suppression remained in effect until Pius VII restored the Society of Jesus

forty-one years later. In contrasting the Society of Jesus with the older religious communities, Professor Ian Hannah writes:

"Instead of helping to rebuild a secular civilization destroyed by the collapse of a regime, it has chiefly sought to influence in the interests of its own Church the institutions that it found in possession. No one has ever claimed that the Society has done during the period of the Renaissance what Benedictinism so gloriously achieved during the early Middle Ages. Society was no longer so plastic as might have made possible anything of the kind."⁴

Just six years after the death of the founder of the Society of Jesus, another Spaniard, Teresa of Avila, established a convent in which a modified form of the Carmelite Rule was observed. This was in 1562. Though the historic roots of the Carmelite order go back to the twelfth century, its greatest significance stems from the reform movement initiated by Saint Teresa—a woman who combined real asceticism with just plain down-to-earth common sense. Not only women but men also became affiliated with Teresa. Her most celebrated co-worker was Saint John of the Cross, who is portrayed in Window Thirteen. Despite strong opposition, these two protagonists worked with diligence and faith. The fruits of their labors were the establishment of thirty-two monasteries and convents by the time of Teresa's death, and the propagation of a school of mystical theology which is perhaps the chief contribution of the Carmelite order.

In marked contrast to the contemplative form of monasticism fostered by the Carmelites, was the active side of the religious life advocated by a Frenchman born in 1576, just fifteen years prior to the death of Saint John of the Cross. This is Saint Vincent de Paul, the subject of the Fourteenth Window. After his ordination to the priesthood, Vincent was captured by Barbary pirates and sold into slavery. However, he managed finally to escape and resumed the active exercise of his priesthood. His success in coping with the spiritual needs of the peasants in the diocese of Amiens led to the "missions" with which his name is associated. In 1632, his "Congregation of Priests of the Mission," or Lazarites, was constituted a congregation. The following year, he organized the Sisters of Charity, women dedicated to good works, chiefly nursing in hospitals and homes of the poor, and teaching in poor schools.

Just seven years before Vincent de Paul began setting up his religious orders among Roman Catholics in France, Nicholas Ferrar re-

⁴Ian C. Hannah, *Christian Monasticism, A Great Force in History* (Macmillan, 1925), p. 258.

vived community life among Anglicans in England. In 1625, Nicholas Ferrar at Little Gidding, in Huntingdonshire, adopted for himself and his household, numbering some forty men and women, a life of ordered prayer and regular duties. No vows were taken. External works consisted of teaching and nursing. The attention of King Charles I himself, was drawn to the community, and he expressed his approbation. The significance of Little Gidding lies, however, not in the nature of its organization but in the fact of its existence. For the very thing it developed, namely community life, had been formally abolished in England a century earlier. That rapacious monarch Henry VIII, observing evils in some religious houses, pounced upon these abuses as a convenient excuse for suppressing all monasteries and convents, expelling their inmates, and confiscating their wealth. Nicholas Ferrar's "Protestant Nunnery," as it was labeled, was at least a small act of defiance towards the moldering corpse of Henry, but it was not until the nineteenth century and the beginning of the Catholic revival in the Church of England that the religious life returned with permanence. Two prominent leaders in this revival of religious communities were John Mason Neale and Richard Meux Benson, portrayed respectively in the last two Windows, Numbers Fifteen and Sixteen. To their names must be added also those of Edward Bouverie Pusey, Thomas Thel-lusson Carter, and William John Butler, whose genius, learning, and spirituality gave great impetus to the restoration of the monastic ideal to a branch of the Catholic Church from which that ideal had been absent for three hundred years.

ANGLICAN RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES FOR WOMEN

Although Marian Rebecca Hughes took the traditional vows and entered the religious state, without the obligations of community life, on Trinity Sunday, 1841, the year 1845 is now generally looked upon as marking the formal beginning of Anglican religious communities. On March 26th of that year, a sisterhood founded by Dr. Pusey began at #17 Park Village, Regent's Park, London. Describing this event, Pusey wrote to John Keble:

"I am vexed that I forgot that you did not know upon what day the little Sisterhood was to commence. Two Sisters entered their home on Easter Wednesday; they were in floods of tears, but in joy, in the prayers for them. On Sunday . . . is to be their first communion subsequent to their solemn entrance. Will

you remember them then? There are no vows, but they have given themselves for life."²

The external work of these sisters consisted of visiting the poor and sick in their homes, receiving and training orphans, giving shelter to needy women, and caring for a day school for poor children. Their dedication, in short, closely resembled that of the Sisters of Charity in France. From this infant community, Florence Nightingale chose some of the best in the band of nurses taken by her to the Crimea. At the close of the Crimean War, this sisterhood merged into the Society of the Holy Trinity in Devonport.

The establishment of this first sisterhood inspired many imitations, and the period from 1845 to 1858 saw the rise of no less than twelve communities of women. The best known among these are: The Community of Saint Mary, Wantage; The Community of All Saints, Colney; The Community of Saint John the Baptist, Clewer; and The Society of Saint Margaret, East Grinstead.

Just two years ago the Wantage Sisters published a small book entitled, *A Hundred Years of Blessing*, setting forth the story of their community. Under the direction of Dr. Butler, vicar of Wantage, two sisters took up residence in a cottage there and engaged in external works of teaching and visiting the poor. From this humble beginning, the Community of Saint Mary the Virgin, has grown to become the largest sisterhood in the Anglican Communion. The mother house is still located at Wantage, and from this center the sisters go forth to direct schools, to engage in penitentiary work, to care for the sick and aged, to carry on parochial activities in various points in England, and to forward important missionary work in India and South Africa.

The Community of All Saints, Sisters of the Poor, was founded in 1851. This community, like most of our Anglican orders, follows the mixed life, that is, it includes elements both of the contemplative and active modes of the religious life. The life of prayer finds expression in the service of Christ in his poor and afflicted ones. To this end, the foundress chose as the special work of the community the care of the aged and incurable women and orphan children. To be granted the privilege, as I have, of celebrating the Holy Mysteries at Saint John's Home, Oxford, England, for a congregation of crippled patients tenderly cared for by these good sisters, is an inspiring experience.

²Allan T. Cameron, *The Religious Communities of the Church of England*, p. 33. See also, Thomas J. Williams, "The Beginnings of Anglican Sisterhoods," in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH*, Vol. XVI (1947), pp. 350-372.

Twenty years after their inception, the All Saints Sisters were invited to open a branch house in Baltimore. Work was later extended to Philadelphia, and in 1891 this part of the society became an autonomous American Congregation.

Another sisterhood to begin in the initial period, and later to extend its work to America, was the Community of Saint John the Baptist, founded in Clewer by Canon Carter, with Harriet Monsell as its first superior. While maintaining its mother house at Clewer, the sisterhood undertook many external works in England and abroad. Unfortunately, several of these good works have, of necessity, been abandoned within the last few years. The work in America has centered in Ralston, New Jersey, near Morristown, where the sisters still maintain a first-rate school for girls. Last year (1949), after much deliberation, the American sisters separated from the English sisters to form an autonomous order.

The last community to be considered from among the early foundations is the Sisterhood of Saint Margaret, founded by Dr. Neale. From small beginnings in East Grinstead in 1856, the society has grown steadily, and now consists of three autonomous congregations in England, Scotland, and America. The list of the works performed by these sisters is ample proof of the consecrated labors of the Society of Saint Margaret for the welfare of Christ's Church.

The limits of this paper do not permit the mention of all the sisterhoods now existing in the Anglican Communion. There are close to fifty communities for women in the Church of England. The *Living Church Annual, 1950*, lists fourteen communities in the Episcopal Church in America. Some of these are large, others small, but the total number of Anglican nuns today is considerable. Forty years ago, it was computed that there were at that time nearly twice as many sisters in England as there were when Henry VIII dissolved the convents. Perhaps it is no exaggeration to state that there are four times as many today.

THE SOCIETY OF ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST

The growth of orders for men in the Anglican Communion has not kept pace with the women's orders either in respect to size or the number of communities. However, the service and influence of these orders has been out of all proportion to their numerical strength.

The first of the new orders for men was the Society of Saint John the Evangelist, which was formally constituted on December 27, 1866, when its founder, Richard Meux Benson, Simeon Wilberforce O'Neill, and Charles Chapman Grafton, an American, took their vows. Father

Benson, like the founders of many of our Anglican sisterhoods, carefully studied many of the rules of the traditional religious communities, and selected those elements which he considered most valuable. He adopted the Benedictine custom of reciting the Divine Office in choir. He personally performed many austerities, but to discourage that competition sometimes observed in the ancient fathers of the desert, he, like Saint Benedict, forbade his brethren to engage in practices of bodily mortification without express permission. The Society of Saint John the Evangelist has been influenced in part by the "Spiritual Exercises" of Saint Ignatius Loyola, but in even greater measure by the unique piety of its saintly founder. Though Father Benson has been dead for thirty-five years, his spirit still dominates the mother house at Cowley, Oxford, and permeates the lives of his spiritual sons. Wherever one goes in England, people speak in hushed tones of awe and respect and love when the name of an English Cowley Father is mentioned. Dom Gregory Dix was not resorting to platitude when, in dedicating *The Shape of the Liturgy* to the English Congregation of the Society of Saint John the Evangelist, he referred to it as "the oldest, the most respected and in more ways than one the greatest of our Anglican communities of priests."

In the course of the past eighty-four years, the Society of Saint John the Evangelist has grown slowly and still numbers only seventy professed fathers. It is now constituted in three autonomous congregations—England, America, and Canada. Each congregation has its own chapter and elects its own superior. The superior of the English Congregation is referred to as "The Superior General" as a title of courtesy, but he has no authority outside his own congregation.

The English congregation centers its work at the Mission House on Marston Street, Oxford, which is one of the greatest spiritual power houses in the whole history of Christian monasticism. From this reservoir, the fathers draw strength and inspiration for conducting missions and retreats, for ministering to many sisterhoods, and for preaching to and counseling the faithful. In London, within the shadow of the Abbey, stands Saint Edward's House, and in Joppa, outside of Edinburgh, a new mission house was opened in 1946. In the foreign mission field, the English fathers maintain two houses in India and two in South Africa.

The American congregation centers its work in Cambridge, Massachusetts. At the mother house there, all the exercises of the religious life are carried on, and from that focal point the fathers go forth for missions, retreats, preaching engagements, and for parochial and conventual duties. The fathers direct two churches in Boston, a third in

Chicago, and five small missions in the diocese of Maine. Two members of the American congregation are bishops—Spencer Burton, the bishop of Nassau, and Kenneth Viall, the assistant bishop of Tokyo. One of its members, Father Morse, who has been characterized as a modern Saint Francis, has labored valiantly in the Orient for the greater portion of his life. Four of the professed fathers of the American congregation are Japanese, who compose the Province of Nippon, which focuses its work at Saint Michael's Monastery, Oyama, about sixty miles north of Tokyo.

The Canadian congregation, centering its life and work in Bracebridge, Ontario, performs a heroic ministry in approximately thirty small missions in the Muskoka Lake Region. Someone has remarked that the presence of the Canadian fathers has raised the entire level of the Canadian Church.

OTHER ANGLICAN COMMUNITIES FOR MEN

I can do no more than make passing reference to the other communities for men in the Anglican Church. By now, the Community of the Resurrection at Mirfield and the Society of the Sacred Mission at Kelham have become household words in the Church, in consequence of their missionary activity abroad and the theological training provided by their colleges at home. The Benedictines at Nashdom Abbey have become well known through the scholarship of Dom Gregory Dix and Dom Anselm Hughes, and by the establishment of an American "cell" in Three Rivers, Michigan. There are at present eight orders in all for men in the Church of England.

In America, twelve orders exist at this moment. Of this number, some are quite small, consisting of hardly more than two or three members. The best known is the Order of the Holy Cross, which has so well preserved the spirit of its saintly founder, Father Huntington, who loved the seclusion of the cloister far up the Hudson River, but also cared for the souls of men in the slums of the city at its mouth. This combined spirit of withdrawal and service remains the soul of the order's work in West Park, in Tennessee, in California, and in Liberia.

In Pennsylvania, the St. Barnabas' Brotherhood has been quietly performing a praiseworthy work of nursing for the past half-century. These laymen live in community at Gibsonia, and from that point direct the work of caring for incurable and convalescent men and boys.

At Mount Sinai, Long Island, the Order of St. Francis pursues its noble "adventure for God," which was inaugurated on September 14,

1919, in Merrill, Wisconsin. The Episcopal Church, which so frequently merits the onus of wealthy respectability, ought to be grateful in the knowledge that in its midst is a group of consecrated men who have uncompromisingly embraced the principle of holy poverty.

OFFICIAL RECOGNITION BY THE CHURCH

Awareness of the life and good works of religious communities is now widespread throughout the Anglican Communion. Though some well-informed laymen and laywomen still remain unaware of the existence of religious orders in their Church, no bishop or priest can claim such ignorance. It was not, however, until the close of the nineteenth century, that any general recognition of religious communities was accorded by ecclesiastical authority. In 1897, a Lambeth Conference committee expressed thanks to God for "the manifold tokens of His blessing upon the revival of Religious Communities in our branch of the Catholic Church." A report on communities prepared by this committee, was circulated to the English episcopate in 1902 by the archbishop of Canterbury. This same report was further submitted to the Lambeth Conference of 1908, which requested that a copy be transmitted to every bishop of the Anglican Communion for consideration.

In the American Episcopal Church, opinions about religious orders have fluctuated as points of view have varied on many other matters. Suspicion and mistrust of orders have at times been much in evidence. At the 1892 convention of the diocese of Massachusetts, the religious life was loudly challenged in consequence of the controversy which had centered around Father Hall, SSJE.* In 1913, General Convention passed a canon entitled "Of Religious Communities" (the present Canon 52), stating the terms by which a religious community could secure the "official recognition of the Church." The canon is so loosely worded that no order, with the exception of the Community of Saint Saviour, a sisterhood in San Francisco, has sought "official recognition." To my mind, the fact that the National Council published, about five years ago, a pamphlet entitled, *The Call from Religious Orders*, which it asked Father Palmer, SSJE, to write, is a greater token of official recognition than the stipulations of any ill-advised canon.

England has gone ahead of America in effecting a working relationship between religious communities and the bishops of the Church. Fifteen years ago, what is known as "The Advisory Council on Religious Communities" was created as an agency for dealing with problems

*ARTHUR C. A. HALL (April 12, 1847-February 26, 1930), born in England, became a distinguished bishop, the fourth of Vermont, 1894-1930.

connected with community life. The chairman of the Council is a diocesan bishop appointed by the metropolitans of Canterbury and York. The body of the Council consists of six priests elected by the communities, and six members appointed by the bishops. Since its inception, the Council has met regularly and has rendered invaluable advice to bishops, the heads of communities, and others who have turned to it for direction.

In America, the first step in a similar direction has now been taken. After exploratory meetings attended by representatives of the major religious communities, a group known as "The Conference on the Religious Life in the Anglican Communion in the United States of America and Canada," was formally inaugurated last November (1949). The Conference provides for the erection of an advisory council of religious to coordinate the interests of the various communities, and to be a **consultative board** for bishops who may desire direction in matters pertaining to the religious life.

THE FUNCTION OF THE RELIGIOUS LIFE IN THE ATOMIC AGE

It is well that there should be advisory councils to deal with the problems connected with religious communities. It is well that the Lambeth Conference should have indicated its approval of the religious life. It is well that the Episcopal Church should have officially recognized orders by the publication of an informative pamphlet. It is well that Anglicans should know that there are monks and nuns in their Church, who teach and preach, who conduct missions and retreats, who nurse, who embroider, who bake altar hosts, who engage in parochial activities, who study and write, who care for the poor and unloved, who forward the missionary task of the Church at home and abroad. All this, I say, is well. But it is even more important that churchmen, both clergy and laity alike, know that there are men and women in their midst who believe that prayer is the most important thing of all.

In this atomic age, when men are restlessly pursuing diversion and luxury in the little time which they feel remains, churchmen should know that other men and women, who call themselves "religious," have withdrawn from the world's aimless activity to enter the quiet of religious houses in order to pray and nurture their souls. In every religious house the most important room is the chapel, where the religious resort regularly to do literally what they say to God with their lips, "Seven times a day do I praise thee." The Divine Office, the daily Eucharist, daily meditation, and daily intercession—these constitute the most important work of every religious community.

We look to the future and we see awful possibilities. We hear of atomic bombs and hydrogen bombs and guided missiles and jet-propelled aircraft, and we are numbed by the feeling that all that man has constructed so painstakingly may be reduced to radioactive scrap. What have religious communities to say to all this? The religious sees the handwriting on the wall also, but he asks if the loss of things really matters. He is convinced that it is the soul of man which really counts above all material things. If by his own life of renunciation, he can convince others that this is truth, if he can encourage others to place their souls in the hand of God, and in the hand of God alone, then he will, perhaps, have been faithful to that vocation to which God in his love and his mercy has called him.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Lambeth Conferences (1867-1948). (SPCK: London: 1948.)
\$3.50.

This volume contains in one binding two previous SPCK publications: *Lambeth Conferences, 1867-1930*, and *Lambeth Conference, 1948*. It constitutes the most complete record of Lambeth proceedings which is now available. Before the 1920 and the 1930 Lambeth Conferences, volumes containing all previous proceedings had been published, but with each conference the bulk of material increased. The present volume contains the full texts of Resolutions and Reports of 1920, 1930, and 1948, with selected Resolutions from the Conferences of 1867, 1878, 1897, and 1908. There is an interesting historical essay on the origins of the Lambeth Conferences, containing material otherwise difficult to locate, lists of the officers of the Conferences, and membership statistics. Since this publication is a binding of two previous publications, the chronological order is somewhat confused. There is, unfortunately, no index of persons, facts, or topics, and the usefulness of the book is somewhat impaired for scholars.

These documents testify to the growth of the Anglican Communion, from the 76 bishops present in 1867 to the 328 present in 1948. Each year sees the increase in diocesan organization, as more and more unfamiliar names from strange lands appear in the lists of the episcopate. The world-wide character of Anglicanism is amply demonstrated from this fact.

More significant than missionary expansion, however, is the gradual growth of authority of the Conference itself. The agenda now is a carefully worked out program of the concerns of Anglicanism, with continuity from Conference to Conference assumed and planned. It is obvious that in the field of reunion, for example, that it is the Lambeth Conference which has taken the initiative, approved the actions, and established the patterns. It is obvious and clear that, while the Lambeth Conference *per se* has no constitutional standing in Anglicanism, its proceedings concern the most weighty matters of business to come before any Anglican convocation, synod, or convention. Its Resolutions establish the character of Anglican life for the whole Communion. It has discussed, recommended, and implemented matters of theology, ecclesiastical affairs, sociological relations, missionary strategy, pastoral care, canon law, and interpretations of the Anglican formularies. It has touched upon every aspect of the faith and order of the Church. The Lambeth Conference, with no more standing than a fraternal assemblage of Anglican bishops, has become the most powerful organization for setting the pattern and directing the activities of Anglican

life throughout the world. All of this raises questions of its responsibility to the whole Church—questions which the future must raise and face.

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British Humanitarianism: Essays Honoring Frank J. Klingberg. Edited by Samuel Clyde McCulloch. (The Church Historical Society, Philadelphia, 1950.) Pp. x, 254. \$4.00.

This useful collection of essays, by a group of friends and former pupils, is a tribute to an American historian who has made a notable contribution to the history of the anti-slavery movement. J. H. Bennett, in his "S. P. G. and Emancipation," tells of the splendid lead given towards the end of the eighteenth century by Dr. Beilby Porteus, bishop of Chester and afterwards of London. It was not enough, the bishop maintained, for the S. P. G. to try and make the Negroes Christians. They must elevate their entire social and spiritual life, they "must improve and advance their condition gradually, *as they are able to bear it*; and even allow a certain number of the most deserving to work out their freedom by degrees." But the Society was slow to realize its duty, and received a stinging rebuke fifty years later from *The Christian Observer*, a London abolitionist monthly: "In ranging from North America to Southern India, the friends of the Society omitted to mention their own slaves, whose labours on their plantations augment their funds. . . . Let the friends of the unhappy slave come forward manfully in the Society and plead his cause; and let them never relax their efforts till the Society can fairly expurgate itself from the guilt of being slave-holders and from the incongruity of watering the tree of life planted in India or America, with the tears and blood of unhappy Africa."

Other chapters in this book deal with the shocking convict system in Australia in the first half of the nineteenth century, and with the horrors of child labor in this country, which even permitted children to be employed in factories when only six years old, and to be ill treated if unable to keep awake at their work. A foreman would take the poor sleeping child, dip him in a tank of cold water head downwards, and send him back to his task with no chance of drying himself. John Schutz writes of an important publication of 1784, too little known, *An Essay on the Treatment and Conversion of African Slaves in the British Sugar Colonies*. James Ramsay, the author of this work, wrote with a calm and studied moderation of the sufferings of the slaves and the brutality of the masters in a manner which kindled the imagination of many and helped "to make slavery a national issue in England."

The Church Historical Society is to be heartily congratulated on the publication of this interesting and valuable volume.

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*St. Margaret's Vicarage,
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The Catholic Movement in the American Episcopal Church. By George E. DeMille. (Church Historical Society, Philadelphia, 1950.) Pp. x, 219. \$3.00.

This publication is a revised and expanded edition of a work originally published in 1941. In the nine succeeding years, there has appeared the late Dr. E. Clowes Chorley's *Men and Movements in the American Episcopal Church*; a series of parish histories of Trinity Church and St. Ignatius' Church, New York City, and the Church of the Advent, Boston; and much documentary material in the quarterly issues of the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE. Fr. DeMille has made diligent use of this new material to excellent advantage. The second edition is fuller and richer in facts, and sounder in historical judgments than the first edition. There seems to be no point for the reviewer to repeat the deserved praise given to the first volume.

The volume is eminently readable, although one must deplore a somewhat unscholastic mannerism of shifting to the first person singular, which occurs with disconcerting regularity. For the average reader, the book is an excellent introduction to the subject. For the historian, it is a definite challenge to fuller research.

The main currents of the Catholic Movement are charted with clarity, and almost every important element and its relationship to the life of the Church is recognized and stated. Fr. DeMille begins his study with the pre-Tractarian high churchmanship which was indigenous to the American Church. The influence of Seabury and Connecticut high churchmanship, the impact of Hobart and his school, are firmly established. One rejoices to see the work and influence of Bishop Hobart so vigorously advanced. One might wish that Chapters I and II were based upon more original scholarship, and not so dependent upon the works of Perry, Manross and Chorley. It is perhaps time for a more penetrating study of the churchmanship of the American colonial and revolutionary Church. The gradual publication of colonial records and remains will open the way for a more thorough-going study in the future. It is Fr. DeMille's contention that the Seabury-Hobart churchmanship was well on its way to the conquest of the American Church when the influence of the Tractarian Movement started new currents of thought and action.

Chapter III, "The Impact of the Tracts," contains much new material. This chapter is by far the most original contribution to the book, and is handled with professional historical deftness. The author explicitly revises his earlier handling of the Carey Case in the light of wider reading and newer evidence (p. 57). The two ritualistic controversies before and after the Civil War are described in detail and the issues clearly analyzed. But they do not present much more material than is already given in Chorley, and lack the color and imaginative handling of that author.

Chapter VII on the monastic life is quite thin. The documentation and the bibliographies reveal that Fr. DeMille has used only the most obvious sources of material. The publications of all the monastic orders for both men and women are an ignored treasure-trove of his-

tory. They should certainly be examined for historical information. One is rather amazed to find no reference, for example, to the *Holy Cross Magazine*, now in the 61st volume of its publication. Over the course of years, it has contained scores of articles with the first-hand information on the life, character, and history of just one religious order. The libraries of the other monastic communities would yield documents of great value. The centenary of the revival of the religious life in the Anglican Church, which was commemorated in 1946, produced historical studies by almost every religious community in the United States. Few of these find their place in the documentation or bibliographies of this book.

Chapter VIII on the movement in the Mid-West is again somewhat thin in its treatment. There are occasional references to diocesan journals, but it is obvious that much published and much documentary material has been ignored. There is no reference to the Kemper archives in the Wisconsin Historical Society, or to the biography of Jackson Kemper by Greenough White, *An Apostle of the Western Church* (New York: 1900). There is no reference to the only published biography of James De Koven by William C. Pope (New York: James Pott and Sons: 1899). The discussion of Nashotah House gives no reference to the archives of this seminary nor to the publication of any historical remains. The unfortunate impression is created by the book that the Catholic Movement is limited to the Eastern seaboard and to that section of the Middle West, east of the Mississippi and north of Kentucky. There is no reference to the Catholic Movement in any other middle western, northwestern, far western, or southwestern state—nor for that matter in any southern state. Yet Catholic parishes exist in almost every diocese of the United States. How they were started, and what influences kept them going, is a matter which receives no attention whatsoever in the pages of Fr. DeMille's study.

One is rather disturbed to find that one entire chapter is still devoted to the McGarvey secession. It would seem that in a survey of the Catholic Movement in eleven chapters that this is a matter of overemphasis and lack of critical historical judgment. Surely the McGarvey secession was but a passing incident in the history of the American Episcopal Church. Furthermore, this material must be handled with the greatest care, for the most detailed accounts were written by the secessionists themselves after they had joined the Roman Communion. Fr. DeMille warns the reader to take Monsignor Edward Hawks' *William McGarvey and the Open Pulpit Controversy*, "cum grano salis," and he endeavors to correct Hawks at vital points by citations from the previously unpublished comments of the late Dr. Burton Scott Easton. Yet it does seem that the overemphasis on this matter has come from the writings of the secessionists themselves. Since Fr. DeMille has made such use of Hawks' account, it is surprising that there is no reference to the companion volume by another of the secession group, William L. Hayward, *The C. S. S.: The Quest and Goal of the Founder, The Right Reverend William McGarvey* (Jeffries and Manz: Philadelphia: 1940), a volume of 409 pages, containing much important documentary material and a most interesting bibliography.

Chapter X, "Liberal Catholicism," is an entirely new contribution to the book. After a brief summary of the development of the scientific and critical methods and their assimilation to Biblical and theological scholarship in *Lux Mundi* and *Essays Catholic and Critical*, there is an account of a parallel movement in America. Tracing this back into the high church tradition, Fr. DeMille deals with the influence of Hughell E. W. Fosbroke, Burton Scott Easton, Frank Gavin, and other scholars of the General Theological Seminary. The special praise which Fr. DeMille expresses for the work of Dr. Cuthbert A. Simpson might have been made much more concrete by a reference to the publication of Dr. Simpson's *Paddock Lectures* and more recent Biblical studies.

Chapter XI on "The Movement and Prayer Book Revision" is a brief restatement of facts already handled by Chorley and Parsons and Jones. One would hope, in a volume specifically dealing with the Catholic Movement, that the labors of more extreme anglo-catholics had been noted. There is no mention of McGarvey's *Liturgia Americanae*, or of McGarvey and Burnett's *Ceremonies of Low Mass* and *Ceremonies of High Mass*. Since these two books set the pattern for several decades for the manner of conducting worship in anglo-catholic parishes all over the country, they are of immense influence and significance. They form the background of practice out of which developed the sense of need for such a compilation as *The American Missal*. The remarks on the subject of this missal seem to be more polemical than historical. In the treatment of Prayer Book revision there might have been a reference to Muller's, *Who Wrote the New Prayers in the Prayer Book*. One cannot quite explain the failure to make some reference to the successive editions of the *American Hymnal*. In general, the handling of the liturgical and ceremonial practice of the Church since 1900 seems too superficial in a work of this nature.

The volume suffers from a certain meagre analysis because of inadequate material. One must point out an unfortunate lack of documentation. There are numerous references to "it has been suggested," without any indication of source: Cf. pp. 19, 20, n2, 30, and 70. More serious than this are the quotations for which no source is given: Cf. pp. 4, n3, 27, 30, 80, 102, 109, 111, 158, and 168. There is some confusion about the introducer of the linen chasuble at St. Paul's, Baltimore. On p. 47, n2, it is attributed to Wyatt; on pages 97 and 108, it is attributed to Milo Mahan. The facts on p. 105, and the bibliographies on pp. 107 and 131, could be expanded by specific reference to the published histories of these parishes marked by advanced ceremonial. The discussion on p. 109 of St. Alban's, New York City, should certainly be prefaced by some reference to the Madison Street Mission. Attention was called to this omission from the first edition of the book in a series of three historical articles on the Madison Street Mission by T. J. Williams in *The Holy Cross Magazine* (December, 1946, January, 1947, and February, 1947). The reference on p. 121 to the great work of Murray Hoffman, *The Ritual Law of the Church*, is a somewhat peculiar misstatement of the chief purport of this work. This volume and Judge Hoffman's, *The Law of the Church*, are both monuments in the history of American canon and constitutional law. The handling

on p. 147 of the General Convention "Canon on Religious Communities" is incomplete, since the religious communities have never accepted the terms of this canon. The documentation on Vilatte, on p. 154 is inadequate. There certainly should be some reference to H. R. T. Brandreth, *Episcopi Vagantes and the Anglican Communion* (SPCK: London: 1947). It seems somewhat unfortunate that the documentation for the chapters on the religious life and the movement in the Middle West should rest so exclusively upon Bishop Grafton's *A Journey Godward*. On p. 145, the name should be "Robert E. Campbell, O. H. C.," not "Robert H. Campbell, O. H. C." Two matters of usage might be questioned: p. 98, n10, "Anglicans" instead of "Anglican Chants," and the peculiar syntax on p. 136, "This order followed strictly the model of no one of the medieval orders."

These comments are not made in the sense of carping criticism. They are offered with the humble realization that the time has not yet come for exhausting the historical study of the American Episcopal Church. The ground for such study is just being broken, and years ahead remain for the publication and examination of archives and records. To Fr. DeMille is extended the grateful thanks of all those who love the Episcopal Church for providing a landmark in the study of its history.

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AN ENGLISH REVIEW

The second edition of Mr. DeMille's interesting volume is very welcome. Such studies are of great value towards a fuller understanding of the history of the American Episcopal Church as a whole. In type and format the book is an improvement on the first edition, but what is of greater importance the author has availed himself of new material, as, for example, Dr. Chorley's *Men and Movements*, as well as recent articles in the *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*. He rightly traces the movement back to Samuel Johnson (1696-1772), first president of King's College, now Columbia University, whose theology was that of the Caroline divines. Johnson's life, written in part by Thomas Bradbury Chandler, was completed and edited by Chandler's son-in-law, John Henry Hobart. Hobart's influence on the Church in America was considerable; that he influenced also the Church of England through his contact with Newman is highly probable. On March 8, 1824, Newman wrote to his sister: "Bishop Hobart of New York is in Oxford. I dined with him at the Provost's yesterday." In the *British Critic*, Newman had already paid a tribute to the bishop. Mr. DeMille calls attention to the correspondence of great interest recently published in the *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, which seems to demonstrate clearly the close connection between the Carey ordination and the suspension of Bishop Onderdonk. In this second edition the author finds a place for that "St. John of the American Church," to quote Dr. Clerley's words,—

Theodore Dehon (1776-1817), second bishop of South Carolina. The bishop, although a preacher of unusual ability, would at any time curtail his sermon rather than any part of the public worship of the Church. He thought that more good would come from the administration of the sacraments, the reading of the prayers, catechising the young, and the visits of the clergy, than from preaching, and that "too many came to church to hear, and not to pray—to gratify taste and curiosity, rather than to humble themselves before God."

No doubt Mr. DeMille's phrase, "the lunatic fringe," aptly describes the few who are unable "to distinguish between what is essential and what is not," or to appreciate loyalty to the Anglican tradition, but it might be well to drop it in the third edition of this wholly admirable and interesting volume. A new and useful chapter, "Liberal Catholicism," is provided, outlining the work of a group of scholars who find their counterpart in this country.

R. D. MIDDLETON.

*St. Margaret's Vicarage,
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The Crisis in the University. By Sir Walter Moberly. (SCM Press Ltd., London, 1949.) Pp. 316. \$2.50.

This is a very wise book. It deals with the educational philosophy of the English universities from the Christian standpoint, as represented in university circles by the Student Christian Movement and the Christian Frontier Council. It takes into account both the "Oxbridge" tradition of the ancient Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, with their centuries-old influence on English life and history, and the problems of the newer universities of London and Wales and of the provincial cities, conveniently designated as the "Redbrick" universities.

There can be no question of Sir Walter Moberly's competence to write authoritatively and judiciously on this subject. His long and distinguished career as an educator includes an extended period when he was a fellow, first of Merton, then of Lincoln College, Oxford, and a period of thirteen years as a professor and administrator in the University of Birmingham, University College in the Southwest of England, Exeter, and the University of Manchester, in turn. From 1935 to 1949 he served as chairman of the important University Grants Commission. Son of Canon R. C. Moberly, author of *Atonement and Personality* and *Ministerial Priesthood*, and grandson of Bishop George Moberly of Salisbury, Bampton Lecturer in 1868, Sir Walter represents the finest tradition of Anglican culture, and has himself won recognition in theological circles by his essays on "The Atonement" and "God and the Absolute" in *Foundations*, the well known symposium, edited by Canon B. H. Streeter in 1912.

Sir Walter agrees with his old friend, the late Archbishop William Temple, that "the crisis of our time is not moral but cultural." The crisis in the university consists in the problem of its adaptability to a world of insecurity, and the insistent question whether the university

can and will make a constructive contribution toward the moral, intellectual, and spiritual revolution which offers the only hope of salvation to suffering humanity everywhere. Christians who are concerned that the universities should give their undergraduates a worthy philosophy of life must realistically face the fact that the universities today are, implicitly, if unintentionally, hostile to the Christian faith and even to a liberal humanism. The traditional Christian-Hellenic concept of the university's task was superseded by the liberal concept of the 19th century, and that, in turn, by the technological and democratic concept of the 20th century. The result is a strong tendency to shirk fundamental issues and a neutrality which verges on irresponsibility, a fragmentation of studies which make it impossible for the student "to see life steadily and see it whole," an unwillingness to face and criticize presuppositions, and a neglect of moral and spiritual factors.

Our author does not seek the remedy in any panacea or by turning back the clock. In cogent detail he analyzes scientific humanism as a "spurious remedy." Classical humanism, though it has invaluable lessons to contribute, is "too rarefied, too naive, too static, too limited, and, in a sense, too parasitic" as a complete philosophy of life on which to base university education. Nor is it possible to return to the once dominant Christian tradition. "Success, even if achieved, would be unhallowed and would bring a speedy nemesis." The adoption of a Christian philosophy by the present-day university would be tantamount to the imposition of an ideology by political manoeuvres and stratagems, and would not really further the Christian cause.

Sir Walter is a great advocate of academic freedom. Men on the university level cannot be treated as hothouse plants. "Convictions must be explored and tested to their roots." Christian teachers must be content to show themselves a "creative minority," if they can. Academic "tests" are to be repudiated because they put a premium on hypocrisy and do not test the right things. Yet, while Sir Walter concurs in Macaulay's raillery against those who "talk in horror of the danger of suffering young men to listen to the lectures of an Arian professor of Botany or of a Popish professor of Chemistry," he feels that the exclusion of the Nazi teachers from the German universities was justified, and the exclusion of Communists of the straitest sect may be necessary "to prevent a dishonest manipulation of university machinery for the subversion of everything for which the universities stand." There must be a creative re-interpretation of the values for which the old liberalism stood.

In a chapter on "Studies," Sir Walter concludes that the universities should turn out an elite who will be men of judgment and "skilled considerers of human things," and at the same time prepare the vast majority of their students for life—in other words, effect a balance between the cultural and the occupational. He criticizes the elective system as producing graduates who are "apt to have acquired nothing but a smattering of unrelated subjects." The "Oxbridge" system of Honor Schools and the principle of "grouping" in the Pass Schools make for more coherent and integrated results. Specialization and research are to be deprecated in those who lack the elements of a broad-based liberal education. As to methods of instruction, Sir Walter judiciously

weighs the virtues and the limitations of lectures, the tutorial system, and examinations.

Another chapter analyzes the merits and demerits of the aristocratic tradition of corporate life at Oxford and Cambridge, and notes how it is being modified by post-war conditions. The "Redbrick" universities, on the other hand, suffer from a poverty of corporate life which the introduction of halls of residence is designed to remedy.

In a chapter on "The University and the World," our author advocates the freedom of the university from state control in order that it may more truly serve the nation and the community. "The university must be free, as the Church must be free, to obey God rather than man." The relation of the university to other educational institutions, and the development of extramural work (extension courses), are recognized as a necessary part of the responsibility of the university to its larger community.

Christians in the university can become "a creative minority" only as they get together as a "Community of Christians," to use Mr. T. S. Eliot's phrase. Sir Walter warns against the dangers of becoming a self-righteous clique or a Christian pressure group. But only by getting together in groups for discussion and prayer can the truly committed Christian minority serve as a real leaven in its secularized social environment. All Christians in the university should set themselves to become lay theologians, with an intelligent knowledge of the Bible, of Christian doctrine, and of Christian responsibility in the world at large. Sir Walter notes that official religion in "Oxbridge" is "decorous, faintly aesthetic, and mildly uplifting," and has small kinship with the sort of Christianity that "turned the world upside down." Members of "the community of Christians"—both senior and junior—should do their part to give it life and reality. Sir Walter finds unofficial societies like the Student Christian Movement a real and constructive force in student life.

Theology, once "the queen of sciences," must regain something of its former prestige in the university circles where it is now barely tolerated. Sir Walter distinguishes theology from "the science of religion" and "philosophy of religion," and vindicates its claim to academic status as "the study of the self-revelation of the living God." The job of the theological faculty is primarily the advancement of sacred learning and the intellectual training of the clergy; but Sir Walter makes interesting suggestions as to how it can also perform its duty to the whole student body and to the other faculties.

We finished this stimulating book with a deepened consciousness of the basic parallel between the educational crisis in our own country and that in England, in spite of the great differences that are so obvious in our respective universities and their traditions. All who are deeply concerned with the work of our American Church in colleges and universities will find in Sir Walter's book much that is provocative and suggestive, and not a little that may be adapted and applied to the American scene.

E. H. ECKEL.

*Trinity Parish,
Tulsa, Oklahoma.*

The Admonition Controversy. By Donald Joseph McGinn. (Rutgers Studies in English: No. 5), Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, 1949. 589 pp. \$6.50.

This carefully-arranged, conveniently-indexed, and well-documented volume supplies a fair and objective picture of an important controversy of which no other satisfactory or adequate account exists. The first Puritan attack upon the foundations of the Anglican Reformation settlement in the reign of Queen Elizabeth has been overshadowed by its more spectacular successor in the days of the early Stuarts. Nevertheless, here in the Admonition Controversy the basic positions of the Puritans against the Established Church were drawn. Here, too, the first defenses of the Anglican citadel on the side against Geneva were thrown up. For nearly a century to follow, the ecclesiastical history of England is foreshadowed in the struggle which followed the appearance of the *Admonition to the Parliament*.

The attack of the Puritans upon the liturgy, ministry, and structure of the Tudor State Church, which followed the Vestiarian Controversy over the remaining externals of Catholic worship, was the most serious threat to the Elizabethan ecclesiastical policy of comprehension. The leader of the Puritan party was Thomas Cartwright, a compelling preacher and an able controversialist. The chief defender of the Establishment was John Whitgift, master of Trinity, and destined to succeed Grindal as archbishop of Canterbury. Provoked by the inflammatory Puritan *Admonition* in 1572, the literary controversy between Cartwright and Whitgift continued through several long tracts by each. Cartwright attacked what the Puritans commonly called the "incomplete reformation" of the English Church, demanding the introduction of the "pure doctrine" and "right discipline" of Geneva, while Whitgift laid down the classic defense of Anglicanism along lines which would be later followed by his younger and abler contemporary, Richard Hooker.

It is this conflict which is presented to us in Dr. McGinn's volume. He confines himself to the literary aspect of the Puritan attack, that is chiefly, Whitgift's *Answers* of 1572, Cartwright's *Replie* in the next year, and Whitgift's *Defense* of 1574. Reference is also made to Cartwright's *Second replie* and *The rest of the second replie*, later tracts from which the editor draws illustrative material relevant to the main points in the earlier writings. The story of the silencing of the Puritan press, the arrest and dispersion of the leaders, and the breaking of the strength of Puritanism through the vigilant efforts of Whitgift and Bishop Bancroft of London, all belong to a decade after the literary controversy.

The author divides his book into two unequal parts: first, a clear, succinct analysis of the background of the controversy, in which fair treatment is given both sides. Dr. McGinn is at pains to correct a number of misrepresentations of Whitgift, restoring to this staunch defender of the Elizabethan Establishment the honesty which some have questioned and the integrity which others have impuned. The second and much longer part of the book is an abridgment of the writings of Cartwright and Whitgift, its selections judiciously chosen and admirably

arranged. Here may be seen at a glance the Puritan objections to the Book of Common Prayer, the Ordinal, the use of vestments and the externals of Catholic worship, the episcopal ministry, the government of the Establishment and its relation to the state, the ancient canonical discipline—in brief, all “Popish remnants both in ceremonies and regimen.” Here, too, may be seen, paragraph for paragraph, the answers of Whitgift, which anticipate so much that appears later in Hooker’s *Ecclesiastical Polity*.

Dr. McGinn undertook this volume to provide students of English literature with the basic facts of the Puritan controversy, the better to lead them through the maze of tracts and pamphlets which form such a great bulk of Elizabethan literature. It will undoubtedly be helpful to them, but it will be indispensable to students of English ecclesiastical history.

POWEL MILLS DAWLEY.

*General Theological Seminary,
New York City.*

Landmarks in the History of Preaching—Donnellan Lectures, Dublin, 1949. By Yngve Brilioth, Bishop of Vaxjo, Sweden (London, S. P. C. K., 1950). 2s. 6d.

Since the delivery of these lectures, Dr. Brilioth has become archbishop of Upsala and primate of the Church of Sweden—fitting recognition of a great scholar who some years ago won recognition in Anglican circles by a sympathetic yet penetrating book on the Catholic Revival in the Church of England. More recently (1946), he has published in Swedish a history of preaching which forms the background of these lectures, delivered in Trinity College, Dublin, in March, 1949. The lectures are a brilliant summary of the history of preaching from the days of the New Testament down to the present.

Taking our Lord’s sermon in the synagogue at Nazareth as a norm, Dr. Brilioth maintains that Christian preaching should be liturgical, expository (or exegetical), and prophetic. In the ancient Church, Dr. Brilioth applies this rule to the preaching of Origen, St. Gregory of Nazianzus, St. John Chrysostom, St. Augustine, St. Leo the Great, St. Gregory the Great, and Caesarius of Arles. Chrysostom was the great expositor. In Augustine he finds the ideal most nearly realized.

Scholastic preaching became a highly developed craft, and many popular mediaeval preachers were probably more interested in the saints’ days than in ordinary Sunday texts. The most striking feature, Dr. Brilioth finds, was the growing divorce between the liturgy and preaching. In Bernard of Clairvaux, we find “the last fruit of the patristic tradition,” combined with a new prophetic element motivated by a passionate love of the Saviour. In Savonarola, the prophetic element is dominant. Luther, according to Dr. Brilioth, restored the balance by restoring the sermon to its liturgical setting while maintaining the expository and prophetic elements. Calvin was the greatest expository preacher since St. Augustine. In the Roman Church, Carlo Borromeo

was a great preacher with curious parallels to the style of Luther. But the famous school of Bossuet, Bourdaloue, and Massillon represented a revival of the rhetorical sermon, going behind Augustine to the classical Greek and Roman ideals.

Of particular interest is Dr. Brilioth's appraisal of Anglican preaching, which he classifies with the Reformed tradition. Latimer was a "typically mediaeval preacher" (Dr. Brilioth is here quoting Canon C. Smyth's *The Art of Preaching*), and Jeremy Taylor is classed as a florid example of the same type. Lancelot Andrewes represented an individual variation of the scholastic, metaphysical type of preacher. Tillotson introduced an essay type of sermon, which has predominated in Anglican circles ever since. Newman and Robertson were expositors as well as prophets, as was H. P. Liddon, and, in our own day, Sir Edwyn Hoskyns. Pusey, Augustus Hare, Scott Holland, Hensley Henson, Studdert Kennedy, and William Temple are all mentioned.

Dr. Brilioth finds the most startling thing about Anglican preaching to be the absence of any close relation to the liturgy, and makes the interesting suggestion that this may be due to the fact that Morning and Evening Prayer have become the principal preaching services, although the Prayer Book makes no provision in them for the preaching of a sermon. There is certainly food for thought in his further suggestion to his Anglican hearers and readers that the real sermon should preserve a true balance between the three elements—the exegetical, the prophetic, and the liturgical.

E. H. ECKEL.

Trinity Parish,
Tulsa, Oklahoma.

What Can Christians Do About the Hydrogen Bomb? Three sermons preached by the Rev. Theodore P. Ferris, Rector of Trinity Church, Boston. (Published by Trinity Church, Copley Square, Boston 16, Mass.) 20 cents.

Speaking of preaching, Dr. Ferris in these three sermons worthily revives the prophetic tradition of his great predecessor, Phillips Brooks, and speaks to the condition of our day as Brooks spoke to the condition of his.

The titles of these three sermons are "The Savage and the Saviour," "The Question of Self Defense," and "What Can We Christians Do?" Each sermon ends with a brief and appropriate prayer.

We shall not attempt a summary or analysis of the contents of these sermons. Let the reader buy, read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest them himself. All we shall say is—here is Christian preaching of a high (not to say, the highest) order—timely, pertinent, arresting, shattering to self-complacency, challenging to self-examination and to action—and yet, withal, diffused with the healing light of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

E. H. ECKEL.

Trinity Parish,
Tulsa, Oklahoma.

New Edition of the Works of John Henry Newman, edited by Charles Frederick Harrold (Longmans, 1947): *Apologia pro Vita Sua*, xxiv-400 pp., 1947; *The Idea of a University*, xxxviii-413 pp., 1947; *A Grammar of Assent*, xxii-394 pp., 1947; *Essays and Sketches*, 3 vols., 1948; *Sermons and Discourses*, 2 vols., 1949. \$3.50 per volume.

The stock of John Henry Newman's *Collected Works* was destroyed in 1940-41, and the publishers did well to entrust the preparation of a selected yet still extensive new edition to the late Professor Harrold, who unhappily has not lived to complete it. The great works are reprinted entire, and the delicate task of selection among the *Essays* and *Sermons* has been well carried out. There are typical sermons both Anglican and Roman, as well as those that are themselves historic occasions like "Holiness Necessary for Future Blessedness," "Wisdom and Innocence" (the source of the prayer "May he support us all the day long"), "The Parting of Friends," and "The Second Spring." The *Essays* include Newman's classic sketches of the Fathers and the early Benedictines (though I miss "The Trials of Theodore") and his 1839-40 discussions of Anglican prospects, which, many will feel, the notes added later did not adequately refute. Readers of HISTORICAL MAGAZINE may be reminded of the interesting paper on "The Anglo-American Church," which must still be looked for in the complete *Essays Critical and Historical*. But for most purposes, Harrold's attractive edition, aided by the skillful introductions which are just sufficient to put us in touch with the author's mind, deserves to become standard.

E. R. HARDY, JR.

Berkeley Divinity School,
New Haven.

Arnobius of Sicca, The Case Against the Pagans, newly translated and annotated by George E. McCracken. (*Ancient Christian Writers*, edited by Johannes Quasten and Joseph C. Plumpe, No. 8). The Newman Press, 1949. Vol. II, Books Four—Seven, pp. 373-659. \$3.25.

Professor McCracken completes in this volume his valuable translation, adequately annotated, of this interesting and little-known Father. The books included in this volume continue the attack on various aspects of paganism in the vigorous style typical of the writers of Christian Africa.

E. R. HARDY, JR.

The Illusion of Immortality. By Corliss Lamont. New York: Philosophical Library. xvii-316 pages. Price, \$3.60.

Several years ago, Mr. Lamont wrote a book on this subject, which he has now considerably revised and republished with an introduction

by John Dewey. Dr. Dewey commends the book to all who are "associated with liberal religious thought."

The volume is in many ways like its author's recent volume on *Humanism as a Philosophy*. The values, for which belief in "human survival" has stood, are conserved and guaranteed, he feels, in such a humanistic world-view, in which the development and enhancement of human possibility is at the center of life. In this new edition, the older references to sermons by noted divines (including some of our own) have been retained, as well as much of the material which demonstrated, to Mr. Lamont's satisfaction, that immortality is a somewhat silly, if understandable, hope.

A Christian would remark, I think, that Mr. Lamont entirely misses the point. Our faith is not in some natural *immortality*, such as science can discuss meaningfully; rather, it is in "the resurrection of the body and the life of the world to come," guaranteed by the revealing action of God in His incarnation, crucifixion and resurrection, by which we are redeemed from sin and given "life and immortality." As against the reductionist Christianity of recent years, the argument which Mr. Lamont adduces may have some coercive quality; as against Christian faith, it has none.

Since the author of the volume on "the illusion of immortality" has dismissed God and denied the faith which responds to that God's revelation, it is hardly likely that he will be able to make much sense of a conviction which springs from a "life hid in God with Christ."

W. NORMAN PITTENGER.

*The General Theological Seminary,
New York City.*

Atoms of Thought: An Anthology of Thoughts from George Santayana.

Selected by Ira D. Cardiff. New York: Philosophical Library.
xv-284 pp. Price, \$5.00.

Many of us recall with pleasure Logan Pearsall Smith's selection of *Little Essays from the Writings of George Santayana*. The present volume is in this vein, but with shorter selections—sometimes sentences only—and with a much wider range, and, of course, many more books by the distinguished writer from which to make a choice of pregnant passages.

One can hardly review a book like this without attempting a review or appraisal of Santayana himself, hardly a fitting project either for this reviewer or in this journal. It remains to be said that Mr. Cardiff seems to have done his job well; what he has selected is authentic Santayana—and we are assured of this by a little preface from the writer himself, who tells us that he examined enough of the material to be certain that the compiler "would not peel off the baroque facade of my philosophy without also displaying in patches the prehistoric blocks of the substructure." Only Santayana could have put it that way!

We can always enjoy Santayana's brilliance, his felicitous style, his insight into almost every idea or theory or position, while at the same time we feel a continuous disappointment that so great and noble a mind can be at the same time so cynical, so "faithless" in the deepest sense of that word, and so content in a kind of aesthetic naturalism.

W. NORMAN PITTENGER.

A History of Architecture. By H. Heathcote Statham. Revised by Hugh Braun, F. S. A., F. R. I. B. A. (B. T. Batsford, Ltd.). 21s net.

This valuable historical record of the progress of architecture throughout the centuries has been revised and edited by a competent hand. In a book full of good things, the passages on domes and vaults are quite admirable, as well as that on the influence of Hagia Sophia on Mohammedan buildings. Many points of importance too often overlooked, are ably stressed, as, e. g., that the pointed arch is never introduced except for reasons of structural advantage and convenience, and that decorative bosses at the intersection of vaulting-ribs are not introduced from a desire for ornament, but to cover the junction of the mouldings of the ribs. The book is clear and definite in its appreciation of many lovely things, about which others have written with more hesitation: Henry VII's chapel at Westminster is "in its own way one of the most beautiful and perfect productions of architecture"; despite over-much restoration, the Early Decorated work at Lichfield and its fine grouping of spires receives unstinted praise; the west front of Peterborough, with its three great arches, "may be said to be the finest facade possessed by any Gothic cathedral in the world"; the Angel Choir of Lincoln "shows in its way an almost Greek perfection." These things have been rightly said before, but not always with the same emphasis and conviction.

The author's comments on the last stages of Gothic are most illuminating: "Of all the architectural styles of history, Gothic was the most vivacious and changeful, because it was ever seeking after improvement. The very intensity of its validity shortened its history." Continually on the strain, as it were, for improvement, it arrived in the sixteenth century at the point where it seemed that nothing further could be done. "What might have happened to it if left undisturbed at this point one can only conjecture." The chapter on the Renaissance that follows is one of the best in the book. The numerous illustrations, photographs and sketches are invaluable.

R. D. MIDDLETON.

*St. Margaret's Vicarage,
Oxford, England.*

The English Cathedrals. Photographed by Herbert Felton, and with a text by John Harvey (B. T. Batsford, Ltd.) 18s net.

The careful study of our Gothic cathedrals will do much to counteract the tide of materialism that sweeps around us on every side. In such a study John Harvey is a sure guide, and here he is at his best. Mr. Harvey says many things that needed saying. It is often stated that the builders of the Middle Ages were indifferent to the work of their predecessors, and swept it heedlessly away. The reverse is in fact the case. The preservation of vast Norman churches at Durham, Ely, Norwich, and Peterborough, as well as early Gothic work at Canterbury, was due as much to affection as to lack of means. Careful adherence to earlier plans at Westminster and Beverley points in the same direction. A notable instance also is the front of Lincoln, the grandeur of which Harvey fully appreciates. What he says about Canterbury nave is worth careful note: "The nave of Canterbury Cathedral is the supreme triumph of English architecture, which is to say, of English art . . . the nave of Canterbury at last achieves the unity which Gothic builders had been seeking for two hundred years." Mr. Harvey points out what is indeed surprising, the comparative lack of Perpendicular work. "It is only in St. Mary Redcliffe that we can savour to the full the spirit of unity which is the keynote of the style," and St. Mary Redcliffe is unfortunately crammed with horrid pews.

Mr. Harvey is well aware of the spiritual message of our cathedrals and does not hesitate to remind us that they have been built for the ceaseless offering of Divine worship to the honor and glory of God. This is a book to buy, to keep at hand, and to read and ponder again and again.

Of the illustrations it is sufficient to say that they are the work of an artist. It is doubtful if finer architectural photographs have appeared in recent years.

R. D. MIDDLETON.

British Cities: Canterbury. By William Townsend (B. T. Batsford, Ltd., London and New York), 6d. net.

Members of the Anglican Communion the world over are not satisfied until they have made a pilgrimage to Canterbury. Canterbury is not only the cradle of English Christianity; it is also a city of great charm and interest, and its cathedral is one of the most beautiful and fascinating in the world. What historical and sacred memories are recalled by such names as St. Augustine, St. Alphege, Archbishop Lanfranc, St. Anselm, St. Thomas the Martyr, and many another! Mr. Townsend has something of interest to tell us about each. Nor does he neglect the great builders like the two Williams—William of Sens and William the Englishman—who gave us the incomparable choir; John Wastell, who gave us Bell Harry Tower, the loveliest tower in England, a land noted for beautiful towers; and Henry Yevele, the archi-

fect of the superb nave. The illustrations are all that could be desired, not only of the cathedral but, amongst others, of St. Augustine's Gateway, St. Martin's Church, the House of the Grey Friars, the West Gate and the City Walls. Two welcomed illustrations of Canterbury Cricket also are included. One picture is given of the miracle windows of St. Thomas, but no miracle performed at the shrine of the Saint was ever as wonderful as the preservation of the cathedral in the last terrible war. This book is especially precious to one who spent twenty-four happy years close to this hallowed ground, and who saw the beloved city bombed and burning. Mr. Townsend and the publishers are to be heartily congratulated.

R. D. MIDDLETON.

Wessex, Dorset, Wiltshire, Hampshire, with West Berkshire & Somerset. By Ralph Dutton (B. T. Batsford, Ltd.) 12/6 net.

Mr. Dutton, whose home is in the county he so well describes, has written a book of distinction and charm. It is a sure and helpful guide to many who long to escape from the vulgar commercialism of our towns to the unspoiled beauty of the countryside, much of which still remains. But it is more than this. It is a sympathetic commentary on the beauties of nature and art. While the author is rightly severe on the stupidity of gothic restorers, he points us to much that is charming in the century preceding, found often in the most unlikely places; and he delights to record instances like those of Avington in West Berkshire, with its "remarkable little rich Norman Church" "mercifully unrestored," or of Puddletown in Dorset (the name is not imaginary) with its "perpendicular church, which eluded the nineteenth century restorers and retains its panelled gallery and fine pews." The illustrations are admirable and numerous.

R. D. MIDDLETON.

Spain. By Sacheverell Sitwell (B. T. Batsford, Ltd. London, New York, Toronto, Sydney). 16s net.

Mr. Sacheverell Sitwell, the author of *British Architects and Craftsmen* and other volumes, has excelled himself in this delightful book on one of the most colorful and romantic countries in the world. Of Spain many unkind things have been said. But it needs to be more frequently visited and more completely understood by English-speaking people. Mr. Sitwell knows his Spain thoroughly—cathedrals and Church processions, the people and their pleasures, their music and their bull fights, though of the latter he is bound to admit, "I find it difficult to condone." This is the ideal book on Spain. No one could have written it better. The illustrations are numerous and admirable.

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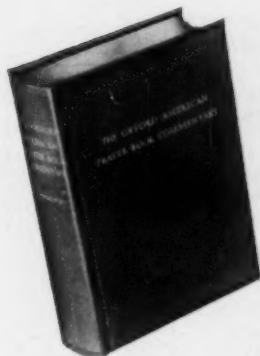
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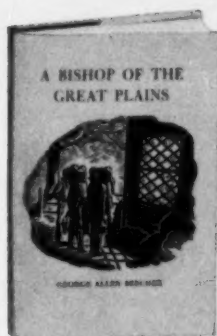


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Excerpts from a letter by Professor Frank J. Klingberg, noted authority on the history of humanitarianism, Los Angeles, dated August 1, 1950, to the President of the Church Historical Society and Editor of its publications, concerning

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BRITISH HUMANITARIANISM

A REVIEW

SPG AND SLAVE EMANCIPATION

BRITISH HUMANITARIANISM: ESSAYS
HONOURING FRANK J. KLINGBERG.
Edited by S. C. McCulloch. (Church
Historical Society, Philadelphia,
\$4.00.)

In December, 1907, J. Franklin Jameson, in his presidential address to the American Historical Association, pointed out that ecclesiastical records are at least as important a source for modern history as for the mediaeval period. Charles M. Andrews, a great American historian of the first British Empire, discerned that the records of the English missionary societies were indispensable to the study of the expansion of England. But to Professor Frank J. Klingberg of the University of California, who had studied under Andrews and also under F. J. Turner, belongs the credit of organizing the scientific exploration of the massive archives of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. His writings are less well-known on this side of the Atlantic than they ought to be: "The Anti-Slavery Movement in England" (1926), "Anglican Humanitarianism in Colonial New York" (1940), "Codrington Chronicle" (1949), are only some of the most notable of them.

To mark his retirement, ten of his former students have presented to him this collection of essays on topics within his field of work. The two main themes are the SPG and the abolition of slavery in the British Empire. These are linked together in the opening essay on "The SPG and Emancipation": the policy of the Society was complicated by the fact that in 1710 it had accepted a bequest of the Codrington sugar plantations of Barbados with the slaves thereto appertaining.

Other aspects of the anti-slavery movement are illustrated by essays on the Rev. James Ramsey, author of "An

Essay on the Treatment and Conversion of African Slaves in the British Sugar Colonies" (1784), which aroused England as "Uncle Tom's Cabin" was to arouse the United States; and on attempts made between 1781 and 1833 to modify chattel slavery in the British Empire.

An historical outline of the ecclesiastical government of the Anglican Church in North America before 1688 is followed up by three essays describing the variety of work performed by the SPG in Colonial America; one writer describes the assistance given by the Society to the foreign settlers; two others contribute biographical sketches of two notable SPG missionaries, Matthew Graves (who worked in Connecticut and encountered opposition from Dissenters), and the American-born Thomas B. Chandler of New Jersey, a powerful agitator for the establishment of an Anglican episcopate in America.

Other topics include the relations between convicts and colonists in Australia from 1800 to 1850: Early Factory Legislation in England (which drives another nail into the coffin of the legend that William Wilberforce was interested only in the woes of negro slaves); and children's hymns in eighteenth-century England.

These ten essays are of singularly even quality. None of them is of outstanding brilliance, but there is not one of them that is not useful and informative. All are carefully documented. In addition, the volume contains a select list of books and articles by Professor Klingberg. This *Festschrift* covers a wide field of historical investigation, and the component essays have the singular merit of being concerned with broad topics of general interest, and not with the minutiae of technical scholarship.—From the *Church Times*, London, July 21, 1950.

THE CATHOLIC MOVEMENT in the AMERICAN EPISCOPAL CHURCH

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